







Camben Society, Pol. 14

NARRATIVES

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

CONTESTS IN IRELAND

IN 1641 AND 1690.

EDITED BY

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER.



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INTRODUCTION.

This Volume is an humble contribution towards the illustration of two periods of Irish history generally regarded by party writers—as indeed most Irish historians may be termed—according to their own views and prejudices. Both periods, 1641 and 1690, are emphatically spoken of at the present day by the Irish peasant as "the times of the troubles;" and the accounts of civil warfare, now printed, are historically important as contemporary records of the views and conduct of parties who were actors in, not speculators upon, the events which they have described.

The first of these narratives is little more than a Journal of the defence of a small tower or castle called Ballyally, in the county of Clare, which was held on lease from Sir Valentine Blake, of Galway, by the widow of Maurice Cuffe, an Irish merchant of English extraction, and to which she retired with her sons for security and protection, when they observed that the Roman Catholic party, or the native Irish, were arming and seizing upon the cattle and other property of their Protestant neighbours.

The account of these violent proceedings in the county of Clare commences on the 1st of November, 1641, and terminates on the 15th June following. On the 27th of December the surrender of the arms which Mrs. Cuffe had collected in the Castle of Ballyally for the defence of herself and family were required by Derman (Anglicé, Edward) O'Brien, Esq. who with other Irish gentlemen had been authorised by his relative the Earl of Thomond, Lord Lieutenant of Clare, to execute martial law and to preserve the peace of the county. Mrs. Cuffe refused to comply with this demand, although it appears to have been peaceably and legally made, and therefore whether she or the Earl of Thomond's authorised agents, most of whom are particularly enumerated by the writer of this Narrative as "cheefe rebels," should be correctly so designated is a question which I must leave to the general historian to determine. It may be inferred, also, from this narrative, that the possessors of thirty-one castles in the county

of Clare (who are all with their little garrisons described by name) pursued the same line of conduct as that adopted by the tenant of Ballyally. To the request of her landlord, made on the 24th, and delivered to her son on the 28th of January, that she would surrender her castle to the legal authorities, answer was returned by the heroine of Ballyally, that "by the help of God the castle should be to the hazzard of life kept possession of for the King's Majesty's use against any that should oppose or besiege it." And this dignified reply, not unbecoming of any military governor, was accompanied by a sly bit of Irish humour—the modest request to Sir Valentine Blake, that he would aid her with powder for "the better defence thereof," with which request the writer of the narrative quaintly assures us "he never did" comply.

The most remarkable features in the proceedings of a thirty-six days' siege which ensued, commencing on the 4th of February, and brought to an unsuccessful close on the 12th of March, are, the attack made on the castle by means of a classical military engine * called a sow, and the use of a leathern piece of ordnance which with a great report exploded at the breech, "the bullet remain-

^{* &}quot;Vineis ac testudinibus constitutis proprius muros accessit."—Livy.

ing within," and respecting which Irish implements of destruction I beg leave to refer the reader to the narrative and to the notes thereon.

From the 13th of March to the 15th of June, when the narrative closes, the elated garrison of Ballyally seem to have acted on the offensive, and that they should have done so under excited feelings, and considering the clumsy manner in which they were assailed, is not to be wondered at. At the distance only of two hundred years from the detail of miserable warfare here exhibited as having taken place within the United Kingdom, it is difficult to conceive in what quarter of the globe more barbarous military proceedings could occur.

I regret to say that I am unable to afford the curious reader satisfactory information as to the precise site or the present state of the important garrison of Ballyally, although I have taken some pains to obtain an accurate account of both. In the course of these inquiries, however, I have particularly to acknowledge my obligations to Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart., for the kind and ready manner in which he has upon this, as well as upon other matters of local interest, most freely communicated with me—an obligation which is extended by a retrospective glance over many years. Among some loose manuscript

notes relating to the county of Clare, I find a reference to an Irish MS. in the hands of one Carroll, at Adare, county of Limerick, in which "Ballyally Castle" is stated to have been built by Owen M'Sheeda M'Namara, and another note refers to Pelham's map of the county of Clare, on which Ballyally is laid down, but I have been unable to procure a sight of this map. In the small map of Clare prefixed to Dutton's Statistical Survey, the name of Ballyahly appears three miles north of the town of Ennis, situated upon a small lake formed by the river Fergus. But in the list of castles given by Mr. Dutton, Ballyally is not enumerated.

The Earl of Inchiquin's brother, Lieut.-Colonel Christopher O'Brien, who was created by the Supreme Council at Kilkenny Baron of Inchiquin, by which title he was commonly called in the county of Clare, is said to have besieged and taken the Castle of Ballyally in 1642;* I have however failed in tracing any further particulars.

Of the narrative of the siege of Ballyally two manuscript copies are in my possession, both written on foolscap paper. The more ancient copy, which is apparently a contemporary manuscript, and probably a fair tran-

^{*} Lodge's Irish Peerage, by Archdall, ii. 47.

script from the original, consists of seventeen pages closely written in a neat and small hand; there are a few occasional blank spaces, no doubt left by the writer for the insertion of additional particulars, although the whole as now printed is perfect and continuous. It is indorsed on the outside—"A brief Narrative of the beginning and continuance of the Commotion in the County of Clare, alias Thomond, against the Protestants of the said County, chiefly against the Castle of Ballyally, then defended by Maurice Cuffe, Esq. against the Rebels, from 1 November, 1641, to 15 June, 1642, written by the said Maurice Cuffe." And on the back of this indorsement is written—"By Maurice Cuffe, of Ennis, Esq.," from which, as well as from internal evidence, there can be no question as to the authorship.

The other copy of this manuscript in my possession is evidently a transcript from the one I have just described, made with great care, apparently about thirty or forty years ago, and is imperfect, commencing with page 5 and ending with page 24, the four first and the four last pages having been torn off. But this copy has been useful to me in supplying a few words which are now defaced in the more ancient copy.

Maurice Cuffe, the writer, was the third son of Maurice

Cuffe, of Ennis, who died in 1638, leaving by his widow Elizabeth seven sons and two daughters, of whom four sons are mentioned in the following narrative, viz. William the eldest, who is stated to be, as well as his brother Maurice, a merchant, and their two younger brothers, the fifth and sixth sons, Thomas and Joseph Cuffe, the latter of whom was the grandfather of John Cuffe, created Baron Desart in 1733.

The second narrative printed in this volume is entitled "Macariæ Excidium, or the Destruction of Cyprus," in which, with a slight disguise of proper names, the struggle between James II. and William III. in Ireland for the Crown of England is related by a partizan of the former, or rather by a man who appears to have been a sincere patriot. He asserts that the success of William cannot be ascribed to the cowardice or infidelity of the Irish troops, who were abandoned by James without sufficient trial, were undervalued and neglected by their French allies, and betrayed by the policy of Tyrconnell. Among the genealogies attached to Keating's History of Ireland, the following account is given of the writer of this manuscript :- "Charles Kelly, commonly called Colonel Charles Kelly, was bred in his youth at St. Omer's, where he went through the course of his studies with great re-

putation, and became well versed in the knowledge of most of the European languages, such as Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, English, and Irish. In the year 1642 he returned to Ireland, and having soon the command of a troop of horse under the Marquis of Ormond, distinguished himself in the royal cause upon many occasions during the war. But when the King was beheaded, and Ireland had been reduced by the Usurper, he left the kingdom, and carried a regiment of 2,000 men into Spain; and his royal master, King Charles II. being then in France, he soon repaired to him, and being followed by most of his officers and soldiers, they were formed into a regiment and placed again under his command. Colonel Charles Kelly continued in France till Cardinal Mazarine made that infamous peace with Cromwell, by which the King and royal family were obliged to quit that kingdom and retire into Spain, the only power at variance with the Usurper; then, like a great many other gallant and loyal gentlemen, he quitted that service and followed his royal master into Spain, where he remained until it pleased God to bring about the happy Restoration. In the year 1660 he came into England, and was highly esteemed for his learning, loyalty, and great services both at home and abroad. In the reign of

King James II. he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Roscommon in Ireland, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council in that kingdom. He was a person of great abilities, piety, and universal knowledge, and was justly esteemed one of the wisest as well as most accomplished men of the age."

He had an only son Donald or Dennis O'Kelly, of Aghraan, in the county of Galway, who married Mary, the daughter of Lord Bellew.

The manuscript from which "Macariæ Excidium" is printed has been in my possession for several years; it is written on foolscap paper in a very clear, old-fashioned hand, but so small and close that twenty-eight pages supply the matter for no less than eighty-one pages of the present Volume. As there are few interlineations or corrections, probably not more than half-a-dozen, there can be no question that this manuscript is a transcript, and from the date 1732 occurring as a water mark in the paper it was most probably made in or soon after that year. I have been thus particular in describing it, because at the moment that this sheet is going to press, I am informed that a MS. copy of Colonel O'Kelly's account of the war of King James II. in Ireland, or more probably

the original, has been recently added to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and that the Irish Archæological Society have had its publication under their consideration.

T. CROFTON CROKER.

Rosamond's Bower, Fulham, 28th July, 1841.

THE SIEGE

OF

BALLYALLY CASTLE,

IN THE COUNTY OF CLARE.

BY MAURICE CUFFE, ESQ.



SIEGE

OF

BALLYALY CASTLE.

Parte of a briefe narration of the begining and continuanc of some of the Commotion in the County of Clare, alias Thomond, with the mannar and prime acctors of it, against the Protestants of the said county, cheefely against the Castell of Ballyaly.

The first of Novembar, 1641, newes was sent from Limrick to Robert Coppenger, Esq. being then at the faire of Clare, of the rebellion that was begun in the North, and how the Lord Mac Gire and his adherents atempted to tak the Castell of Dublen; aftar which time reportes came daily of the incresing of the rebellion, but noe evident signes of rising appered in Thomond tell about the latar end of Novembar, about which time there came certaine inforemation to the Earle of Thomond of the generall insurrection of the Irish in the next abordering counties, spetialy Ormond, Dougharra, and the rest of the county of Tipperarie, CAMD, SOC. 19.

which is adjacent to the said County of Clare, only the river of Shannan divides them, and how the English of those partes were pilleged and robed of all there goodes and cattell, which inforeced them to fly from there howses, and betake them selves for safety of lives to Castell, many being stript out of there cloathes and exposed naked to the extremety of the could, except thave would revolt from the Protestant religion.

Mortho O'Brien came out of Dougharra into Thomond to rob the English.

At this time there came certen news to the Earle of Thomond and others that divars of the barony of Dougharra, and them partes of the countie of Tipperrarie, of which in cheefe one Mortagh O'Brien Fiz Daniell, of Annagh, had com ovar the rivar Shanin and made an invasion into his lordship's county, and had robbed many of the English that lived in the frontieres of Thomond of the most part of there cattell, and threatned very shortly aftar to surpries the town of Killalow and Castell Banck, and to strip the Bishop of Killaloe, with the rest of the English in them partes; for feare of whose barbarous usage the said Bishop, with his English tenants, forsooke the towne of Killaloe, and fled to his Majesty's castell at Limrick, where thave remained tell the rebels tuck the said castell of Limrick, which was the 23rd of June, 1642.

Heereuppon the Earle of Thomond considering, sent precepts throoutt the hole county of Clare, of which hee was governar, requiring all the gentrey and freehouldars of the said county, both English and Irish, to give his lordship a meeting at Inish one the 24th day of Novembar, for raising of an armey to resist the invation of the rebells of other countyes, and lickwaies for keeping of the said government of Thomond quietly. To which purpos hee appointed and authorized divers gentelmen only Irish of the said county, excepting his steward, Mr. Kerther, whome had marshall law in the said county; the rest that his lordship gave the powre of martiall law were these, - Derman O'Bryen, Esq., John Burck,

Esq., Connor O'Brien, Esq., Danell O'Bryen, of Dough, Esq., and som others.

At this time the said Earle of Thomond made Durman O'Brien, Irish co-Esq., Connor O'Brien, Esq., John M'Teig M'Namarow, and apovnted. Donagh M'Teig M'Namarow, and Terlough M'Mohone, of Clanagh, The Earlo and other Irish gentellmen, the captaines of his said foreces, and of Thowith these and the rest that he had raised, hee went in person to about the Castellbanck and Killaloe to prevent the coming of the rebels out went to of Dougharra into his lordship's cuntrey, where he remained for Killaloe. the space of five or six dayes, and from thenc hee sent Captaine Dermud O'Brien, with som others, to Mortho O'Bren, cheefe of the rebels there, requiring hem to com speak with his lordship, and to make restitution of the cattell which hee and his assistants had taken out of Thomond, which he refused to doe; wherupon the said Earle sent part of his company, English and Irish, into Dougharra, and brought from thence ovar the river som cattell, which thaie supposed to have belonged to the English of Thomond that were robed by the said Irish of Dougharra; from thence the said Earle, with his forces, returnd to Bunraty, where his lordship receved information from John Burck and severall others, that Terlagh O'Brien, of Tulloghmore, in the said county of Clare, Terlough O'Brien, had raised manie Irish in Thomond and of the county of Galewaie, the first in and that hee had robed divars English of there cattell, which the rebellion in Thomond. Earle undarstanding, sent parte of his trope and foote companie to bring in the said Terlough, with his asociats. Whoe, when thave were com where he was, although it appeared unto them plaine that John Burckes information was true, by the complaintes of the English, that the said Terlough had robed, yeet the said Terlogh pershwded them to the contrarie, and that it was only out of malles to hem that the said Burck had cast that espersion on hem, desiring to be excused at the present, in regarde of some urgent accation, and that within a short time hee would waight

uppon his lordship, and givue his lordship furthar satisfaction, and make it apeere that Burck was the man that robed the English; soe with the said anshwer and lettar from the foresaid Terlogh, the hors and foote returned, and uppon there returne, thay found certaine Irishmen of the common sorte steling English menes cowes, which thave carried with them to the Earle, to Bunraty, whoe gave judgment that thave should bee hanged forthwith; veet, notwithstanding, som of the Irish comandars and gentry agreed and prevaild to give bands for the malefactors appearance at the next assise to anshwer for there offences, which the Earle excepted of, only two that were straingers, for want of security were at that present executed at Bunraty. From that time forward tell January, there were som brought for robing and stealing English menes goods and cattell, but the gentry and comandars prevaild that not any of them suffard, but escaped, giving bands to anshwer at the next sisses. Now the Earle of Thomond having raised these severall companyes following: Connor O'Brien, of Balemacodon, Esq. Donogh Mc Namarow, of Cratolagh, John Mc Teige Mc Namarow, Donagh Mc Namarow, his lordship's captaine leftenant, and divars others. Each company being raised, and there garesons apoynted, his lordship raised mony out of ech plowland for there maintenance, being - of ech plowland, of which I paid — . Now the cumpanies were billeted in there garesons uppon the howse keepars, and the mony fully collected and paid unto Robart Copengar, Esq., according to his lordship's ordar, but how disposed of is not to me knowen; but paid it was, with a second collection of 12d. per plowland, to make pickes and other armes.

Oleiver and his brother John Delahoyd begines the trade of the standard of the same countie, and from thenc thaye drove awaie by night the great-

est parte of John Twisden and Thomas Randell, and divars other cow steal-English mens cattell, that lived in them parts, which English had ing about the 9th reasnable good stockes of cattell, both cowes, horses, and sheepe. 10bar.

The Earle of Thomond being by the English heerewith inforemed, hee sent parte of his trope and foote companies to bring in the said Delohoyds; but the said John was falen very sicke, and died shortly aftar; but his brother Olivar being brought before the Earle, denied the factes of which hee was accused, cleering hemselfe by many false othes, seeming to bee sorrowfull and greved that hee should be suspected for any such crime, vowing that hee would bee as redy and as faithfull in doeing his Majesty and his lordship any sarves to his utermust abillety as any man in the county; and furthar to delud his lordship, the said Delohoyd wept, the which the Earle taking notes of, his lordship did not only dischage hem, but lickwaies gave hem powre to execut Martiall law upon any that hee should find offending. The said Ollefar being discharged, and returnd home, he presently began to betake hemselfe to his foremar corse, and drive and carey awaie any cattell that he found of the Englishe.

About the 15th of 10bar, Ownie oug O'Loughlen, of the Barony Ownie oge of Buren, accompanied with his 3 sonnes, and divars others of len and his that Barony that joyned with hem, went to Balecashen, which was sonns outt. a farme of Gregorey Hickman's, and drove awaie cowes, sheepe, and horses, being of the said Hickman's chattells. About the 22th of 10bar thave went to Balecare, and from thenc by night drove awaies many cowes and sheepe from Georg Colpis, Esq. and from divars other English.

About the 9th of January, the Earle sent precepts through the county, requiring the cuntry to give hem a meeting at Inish to hold a quartar sessions, at which sessions the Earle earnestly parshwaded and intreated the gentry and comelty to remaine loyell to his Majesty, and to show there loyaltie in theyr forwardnes,

perswading them that they should deserve and contineue the good opinion which the state had of them; and further to induce them thereunto, tould them, that although all the other counties in Irland had bin foremarly attainted by treason, yet Thomond was nevar generally knowen to rebell, desiring them for the good of themselves and there posterety to continew there loyalty; and yet furthar to binde them thereunto, hee caused them all at the same time to take the oth of alleageanc to his Majesty; at which time, to show the sorow that hee conceved for the rebellion which was began, of which he was furthar inforemed at that time, which cased his lordshipe to wepe before them at the bench.

The Earle enformed of Hugh O'Gradies rebellion, of the Gradies, about January.

While the said Earle remained at Inish, at the Sessions, which was 4 daies, complaintes were made unto hem by Robart Hibard . and his sonn Richard of Stradnegalow, against Hugh Gradie of and the rest the same county and place, being landlord thereof, that hee the said Gradie had comited severall outrages upon them, by taking the 10th day awaie there cattell, to the number of som 160 English cattell, besides horses and sheepe; and that hee being assisted by the rest of his kindred of the Gradies, and others by them raised, and with all had wounded there servents in the night, whoe were left by the said Hibarts to ovar see and keepe there howse in there absents, and had lickwas robbed them of what householde stuffe which thave had left in there howse, there wiffes being gon before for there salfty with parte of there goodes and mony to Clare Castell, which other waies might lickwaies have suffered; the Gradeies taking posseshon lickwaies of the said Hibarts howses. Which the Earle undarstanding, sent a band of souldars with one Robart Freestone, son-in-law to Hibard, to aprehend the said Gradey and his cheefe assistanc, whoe heering of there coming, forsooke there dwellings and went into Connoght, where thaie remained tell the Earle returned from Inish, which when the

Grades hard thave then returned to there foremar imployment and habetations.

Immediatly after the Earle returned from Inish to Bunraty, the About the 14th Janusouldars which his lordship had garesend with intent for the ary the English safty through out the county, began to opres and abues Irish souldars, raised the English that remaind in there dwelings; but the most parte by the of the English had betaken them to castels before the 25th 10bar. Earle, began to se-Of which abuses when the parties abused complained to the cond the captaines of the souldars, and tould them that theye coulde noe bells. longar continew among them, to provid entertainment for them and there soulders, but must betake themselves to som castels, or some other place where thaie might be freed from such dainger of lives and goodes which thaie were then in by the said souldars, if thaie were not speedely redresed, the souldars not only taking there goodes but lickwaies thretning there lives; which the captaines heering, insteed of giving or taking corse for there redres, the said captaines went to the Earle of Thomond, and inforemed his lordship that the English one whome there soulders were billeted were forsaking there howsing and caring there goodes to castels, but nevar accquainted the just accation; where upon his lordship gave authoretie undar his hand to the said captaines to make staie of there householde stuffe and goodes of any English that should offar to forsake there dwellings; which comand being obtaind, thaie then made use of it to the full.

About the 10th of 10bar the Earles Irish army being raised, and About the the most parte of them being unarmed, the captaines and com-10th day waandars of the said armey went to the Earle and inforemed hem that rents grantthe most parte of there souldars were unarmed, and that with out armes. armes they were unable to defend the cuntrey, and that the English had more armes then thave had accation to use, which the Earle heering, gave warents to the said captaines to inquire what armes the English had that lived not in castels, and to seise upon them,

Dermond O'Brien demanded the armes of Balyaly, about the 27th 10bar, 1641.

and take all such armes for the use of there souldars; the execution of which warant thaye delaied noe time, but Durmand O'Brien, Esq. cheefe comandar of the Earle of Thomond's foreces, came with two cunstabels attending hem; came to the Castell of Ballyaly, which then was in the poseshon of Elizebth and Maurice Cuffe of Inish, merchant, and by hem fortefied, and a ward by hem and his mothar and brothars put therein, having bin at much charge in strenthening and fortefing it for there salfty. The said Durman and cunstabels, as above said, about the 27th 10bar, demanded the armes that were therein to be delivared unto hem for his Majesties serves; but being denied by my mothar and the rest, and not suffered to com into the said castell, hee went awaie discontented and ofended, being resolved to be revenged of the within wardars, showing the warent, parted as aforesaid.

Limrick men indefard to take oure ship laden by Jeames Marten and brothar.

Jeames Marten, a duchman, living in Thomond, having a ship then laden by hem selfe, and Mr. John Foot and William Cuffe, merchant, wherein divar other English men and woomen that had bin robed of ther cattell and goodes, and lickwaies seeing the daingers daily increas, where upon thave resolved to goe for England, and procured pasedg in the said ship for them selves, and lickwaies for what goodes thaie had left, and had put it aborde. The maire and his brothars, and divars of the yong men of the cittey of Limrick, conceving the said ship to bee of great valew and much mony and plate aboard, where uppon thaie were discontented that it should escape from them; here upon thaie fitted a small vesell and sett har forth in the rivar to tak the fore said ship and what bottes thaie could hapen upon of English mens. In this vessell the maire apointed his brothar John Faning captaine, and his brothar Richard master, being one that had bin bred to navegation, and mand har well with young men of the cittey, and then being sett forth there Captaine Faning and the rest of them wrought in the name of discontented yong men to

Mr. Marten, comanding hem to yeld them all goodes that did any waies belong to any English, otherwaies thaie would fight for them, and if thaie conquerd the ship he must then expect noe bettar quartar then the English. But it plesed God, by the kear of the merchants and the rest thaie were prevented, and aftar escaping many trubels, which the enemy forst them to, thave recovard out of the rivar.

About the midell of January, Donagh M'Namarow, with a Donagh mattar of twenty hors, tuck a jurny out of Thomond to the north, row, his in behalfe of hem selfe and the rest of the said county, to confer going into with Sir Phylem O'Neale, and the rest of them cheefe rebels, to be derected what courses thave should goe on withall in Thomond, and to procure som battring peeces, being reported that there was plenty of them, and all other ingens of war, with them rebels in the north parts, which reportes and threetnings thave daily threetend the English withall that were then in castells, divars castels at that time being posest by the English, as I shall heere aftar nomenat, which castells thave vowed to batter doune uppon the said M'Namarowes returne, spetially the Castell of Balyaly, but the said M'Namarow returnd without any ordenanc.

Now I shall nomenat what castels were in Englishmen's hands at the begining of the rebellion, and whoes poseshon in Thomond.

Bunraty Castell posest by the Earle of Thomond, Rosmanagh The Castels posest by Christian Coule, Cappagh Castell posest by Frances in Tho-Morton, Drumline Castell by Edward Fenar, Balycare Castell est by Engposest by Georg Colpis, Esq. Balemekashen (parte of it) posest by lish, in all 31 castels. Thomas Benes, Drummolan Castell by Robart Starkey, Esq. Balenecragen by Richard Keaton, Castell Keale by Jeames Marten, the Ing by Peetar Ware, Cloghanaboye Castell by Mr. Rawsons tenants, Clare Castell by Captaine Heugh Norton, Esq. Balyaly Castell by Maurice Cuffe, merchant, Belehoreck by William Brickdall, Esq. Cronaghan by Mr. Thomas Burton and Mr.

Mounsall, Donagaroge by Anthony Usher, Moygh Castell by George Norton, Incheyveagh Castell posest by Simson and others, Newtoune by Donagh O'Bryen, Esq. then protestant, Carone Duffe by Frances Dawes, Baleportre by John Brickdall, Baleharehan by Mr. Hasley, Inshecronane by Anthony Heathcot, Clowne by Thomas Bourne, Lissofin by William Costolow, Garoro by John Cartar, Skareff by Richard Blagrafe, Caherhurley by Mathew Hickes, Tumgraney by Luke Bradey, Esq. Castellbanck by Mr. Washington, Trumrow Castell by Peetar Ward, where hee and his wiffe and one sonn were most cruely murdered by the enemy.

About the 16th of January Connor O'Brien, of Lemenegh, whome was apoynted foremarly to raies a trope of hors for the Lord Inshequin, and hee to supply the place for defenc of the cuntry, now began to joyne in rebellion, and being accompaned with divar other Irish gentry, and others both hors and foote, went and drove awaie what cattell hee could find of Mr. Burtons. Mr. Hickmans, and of any other Englishmen, the hole cuntrey being now out in general.

Mr. Twemfrom his howse.

About the 20th of January Mr. Twembrock was turnd out of brock forst his howse and goodes by Turlough O'Brien and his company, not leving hem or William and John Bridgmen, his two sonn in lawes, any thing, but were faine to betake themselves to Teig O'Brienes, of Drummore Castell, Esq. Heere Brien gaind two or three fowling peeces and som powthar, which then was very preshes.* At this Castell of Teig O'Bryens, the fore said Twinbrock, through faier promeses and invetation of the said Brien, had sent most of his and his sonnes best goodes, but were faine to give the greatest parte or all to the said Brien to convaie them and there famelies to Bunraty, in regard of there ill usedg.

^{*} The passage in italics is struck out in the original manuscript.

About the 22th of January, at night, Connor O'Brien, Esq. of Balemacodon, and Connor O'Brien of Lemenegh, with companies, broke up William Maras howse, and caried awaie what muskets and peeces and peternells that the said Maras had then in his howse, which was neere about thirty-six, which hee had then amending of the Earle of Thomondes, and other Englishmen, muskets and peeces.

About the 23th of January one John M'Brodie, of Killke, came to the Castell of Balyaly to Wintar Bridgman, Esq. about som accation, and at last caled Mr. Bridgman and Mr. Chapling aside, telling them privetly that the English of Munstar and Thomond were in a very daingerus case, for there was not an Irishman in the county of any notte, except the Lord Inshequin in Munstar, and Donagh O'Brien of Newtoune, and his sonn Connor, whome thaie esteemed great puritanes, but would very sudenly bee acctually in rebellion, and with all advised them, if thaie could, to goe speedely for England, for there would bee noe salfty for English in Irland, whose relation appeared true; and that the Irish gentry of that county had generallie resolved to beseedge and take all the English castells in the county, and that thaie would furst begin with the Castell of Balealy, where thaie expected to recovar both welth and store of peeces, and powthar and bullets, which would inabell them much for taking other castels, and that the taking of that castell would bee a great danting to all other English of the county. This Castell of Balyaly having a reasnable strong ward and well provided, notwithstanding the cuntrey's malles, as it the poorer sorte of pepell, spetialy som of Mrs. Cuffe's and har sonnes teenants and naithbors, and som others, would furnish us privetly with som freesh provition for mony, as heenes egges, geese, lambes and the like; which the cuntrey taking notes of, did there uppon send som to lye in waight to prevent us of provition for oure mony;

and these villens taking som woomen coming with provition to the castell, thaye would beate them, and take awaie there provition, and threten them if evar thaie came again that then thaye would carrie them to there comandars, where thaye must ashuredly without any favor bee hanged; by which meenes the castell was prevented of any further releefe, but daily trettnings of a strickt seedg to be laid against it.

Heere uppon Sir Valenton Blake, who was the proprietor of the castell and land, sent a letter from Galewaie to my brothar Thomas in my absents, dated the 24th of January, advising us that if wee thought oure selves not abell to withstand the force of the cuntrey whoe were preparing to com against us, that then wee should betake oure selves to som place of greator strength, and deliver the possesion of the said castell to Captaine Durmet O'Brien, whome he had by letter intreated to take the possesion of the said castell and keepe it for his use; the above letter was not deliverd tell the 28th of January, to which anshwer was returned that, by God's help, the castell should bee to the hasard of life keepet posseshon of for the King's Majesty's use against any that should oppose or beseidge it, and desired the said Sir Valenton to asist us with some powthar for the better defenc thereof, which hee nevar did.

Now divars that were com for sheltar to the said castell of poore English, whereof parte of them were robed of ther goodes and provitions, being not abell to with stand soe suden a seedges as was intended; and not any that were in the castell being provided with more then what thaie had provided for them selves and famelies, the names shall heere after follow of all.

Heere uppon, finding oureselves bard of provition for mony, and heering and seeing the emenent dainger wee were in, cased us to tak time, while time sarved, to releve these poore, and lickwaies oure selves, with a leetell fresh provition; where upon there was a partey sent forth which gaind from the enemie and brought home 11 cowes and 32 sheepe, which were killed for the releefe of the poore, where by thaye migt induer a seedge the bettar.

February the 4th, 1641, Captaine Dermad O'Brien haveing prepared and agreed with Captaine Terlogh O'Brien, which was the first noted rebell in Thomond, and with severall others who had raised an armey neere a thowsand of rebels out of Connogh and Thomond, redy to beseedg the said Castell of Balyaly. Heere upon the said Durman sent us a lettar from one Loughlen Mac Inerenve's howse, which is not pasing a mile from the castell, dated the daie above said, demanding the castell to bee delivard presently unto hem in behalfe of Sir Valenton Blake afore said, with all threetning that if wee refused to delivar hem the said castell he would forth with use meanes, by the asistanc of the Earle of Thomond and others, to take the said castell and landes; to which lettar anshwer was returnd by my brothars that the foresaid Maurice Cuffe, merchant, had taken the castell and landes of the foresaid Sir Valenton for 31 yeere, beg[in]ing the last Maie, in whose behalfe hee and the rest would keepe it for the King's Majesty's use, and tell the experation of his lease, and that wee trusted that the Earle of Thomond would be far from assisting, or any other, in disturbing us thereof; that wee beleved rather that his lordship would defend us from any that should disturb the peasabell enjoying of it, and that noe loyall subject would ofer to beseiedge or trubel us, but if any of his Majesty's enemies should asault or beseidge us, that wee would, by God's helpe, defend the same to the last man of us.

Soe sone as the said Dermod parused this anshwer, he presently sent the said Terlough and the rest of there armey to beseidge us, indevering to prevent us of firing and wattar. Thaye once begining, had present assistenc of the county in general, daily incresing, and then agreed that ech barony should ley against us

by turnes, conceving it to great a charge for the whole to remaine constant at that time of yeere, the wethar being withall could; now thaie began to buld and make cabens under the hedgroes and bushes for there men to ly drey in, and daily preshuming to com neerar and neerar with there bulding, wich wee obsarveing would ventar somtimes forth and procure som of there howsing, and bring in for firing, soe that thaie were often trubled to buld new ones.

It was lickwaies generally obsarved, dewring the furst seidge, that when evar the enemi had any practise to com against us, that it pleased God to send extreame stormes of wind and raine or haile. This obsarvation was soe generall obsarved to us to prove true, that whethar it hapend by daye or night the ward would presently to there armse every one to his plase, which obsarvation did constantly prove soe true that the enemy did lickwaies obsarve it.

Heere followeth the names of the cheefe rebels that brought what strenght of men thaie could the furst seidge.

Dermand O'Brien, Esq.
Terlough O'Brien, Esq.
Sir Danell O'Brien, Knight.
Danell O'Brien, of Caroneduff, Esq.
Connor O'Brien, of Balemacodon, Esq.
Ollevar Delowhoyd, Esq.
Boyles Clancey fiz Murtho, Esq.
Heugh Hogan, Esq.
Coner O'Brien, of Lemenegh, Esq.
Tearloug and Mortho Brien fiz Teig.
Teig M'Danell Regh M'Namarow, gent.
Donagh M'Namarow, of Cratalagh, gent.
Danell M'Namarow, of Doune, gent.
Donagh M'Connor Regh M'Namarow, of Balekeley.

Rorey M'Namarow, of Caherenagh, gent.

Teig M'Namarow, of Drumknoragh.

Owne oug O'Loughlen, of Buren, gent. and his 3 sonnes.

Sheda M'Rorie M'Namarow, of Caroneleghan.

Redman Neland, of Cnockanene, gent.

Flan Neland, of Roslenane, and 3 sonnes, gent.

Daved O'Neland, of the same, gent.

Ogan O'Hogan, of Shalee, gent.

Jeames Hogan, of Eronagh.

John Linch, of Desart, gent.

Gileduf O'Shanes, gent.

Hugh O'Gradey, gent.

John fiz Jemes O'Gradey, gent.

Richard Grady, gent.

Henrey Grady, gent.

Danell Grady, gent.

Manoge O'Gradey.

Captaine William Shanes, out of Conoth, with company.

Captaine Henrey Gradey, of Cnockaney, in the county of Limrick.

Andrew Burck, of Inish, merchant.

Danell Hernan, of the same.

Divars othars.

About the 6th of February Durman O'Brien and John M'Teig M'Namarow desired admitanc for a parley, which was granted; there parley being onely advising us to yeld them the castell, promesing to convaie us with goodes, and armes, and lives salfely to Bunraty, or any other place in the county that wee would; but wee conceving it not salfe to fale into there handes, and expecting oure selves abell to resist them tell releefe might com out of England according to the procklemation foremarly proclaimed, which wee doughted not but would have bin performed, though

it have pleased God that sunc it have falen out contrarey to oure expectation; however, wee then returnd this anshwer,—that the castell wee would not yeld, but mainetaine it for his Majesty, and therefore advised them not to trubell them selves with any more vaine parlies, which if thaie did preshume to com with any more, wee would then deale with them as enemies. Then thaie further thretenned us with the instruments Turlagh O'Brien entended to mak, which would bee such that wee should not be abell to resiste, and that he had taken Abraham Baker as he was goeing to Bunraty, and forst hem to goe on with his sow, the which aftarwardes thaie fineshed. However wee tould them wee were resolved to withstand there wicked inventions or to loes oure lives; then thave tould us if wee would except of there morshon thaie would looes there lives or convaie us salfe to Bunraty, and beat of all that would opoes us. Then wee desired them, if thaie wished us soe well, that then thaie would bee pleased to beght of the enimy that laie then against us, that wee might remaine where wee were in quietnes; but this being not plesing, wee parted.

Aftar this the enemy would daily in our sight drae forth there skenes and swordes, flurishing them, shwering many daingeroes othes that ear long thaye would drae us forth and hack us to peeces, terming us pewritan rogges, and all the base names that might bee invented, vowing that shortly Sir Philem O'Neale, and at lest 40,000 souldars, would com in to Thomond and not leve a Protestant living, praing hartely for hem, pretending that thaie then fought for hem, but within a short time aftar thaye pretended that thaye were wholy the Queenes armey, and that shee and har mothar was in the north aiding them, but noe Protestant admited to luck uppon har. This nott sudenly altard, and then thaie were all for the King, vowing depely that thaie had his Majesty's comishon for what thaye did, and that thaye were his Majesty's Cathelick foreces. To expres there base and wicked termes were soe

tedious and base that it were abell to shame the readar to heere there wicked inventions and damnable curses.

Now the enemi having finished there two sowes and there About the 21th of Feletheren great peece, thaie brings them within oure sight of the bruary. castell, and then sendes Captaine Henry O'Gradey, of Cnockany, of the county of Limrick, to sumen the castell; and being demanded by som that were upon the battellment warding, what athorety hee had to demand it, or right or claime he could laie two it? Whereupon hee anshwerd that hee had commission from his Majesty to banesh all the Protestants of the Kingdom of Irland. Heere upon, without furthar excamenation, there was a bullet sent from the castell by one of the wardars to exsamen his cumishon, which went through his thigh, but he made shift to rumbel to the bushes and there fell doune, but only laye by it sixteene wickes, in which time unhapely it was cured.

This evening a poore maid that foremarly came stript to the Consearncastell, being desiroes to venture to an aunte shee had at Balecare ing a poore maid. Castell, living with Mr. Coalpes, had noe sonar began this har jurny, and got without musket shot, but was by the enemie taken and caried before there comandars, whome did putt har to much torture to make har revell what secresey she knew of the castell, and lickwaies whome it was shot at the foresaid Gradey in the morning; the which she was farced to confes, the partey being Andrew Chapling minstar. This daie thaie advanst there sowes and recovard har with in the outtar trench of the castell iland, the forme and biggnes of the said sow being as followeth:

The great sow was 35 foote long and 9 foote broade; it was The forme made upon 4 wheeles mad of whole timbar, bound aboutt with of there two sowes hoopes of iron, there axell trees where one she run was great bult by the round bars of iron, the beames she was bult upon being of timbar. Thaie had cros beames within to worck with there levars, to forse har along as thaie plesed to gide har. The hindar part of the sow

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was left open for there men to goe in and outt at. The fore parte of the sow had 4 dowres, 2 in the ruffe and 2 one the lowar parte, which did hang upon great iron huckes, but were not to open tell thave came close to the wale of the castell, where thaie intended to worck through the castell with there tooles thaie had provided. The ruffe of the sow was bult lick the ruffe of a howse, with a very sharp ridge; the lowar part as the wales of a howse. dubell plancked with manie thik oken planckes, and driven very thick with 5 stroke nailes, which nailes cost 5li, being intended for a howse of corection which should have bin bult at Inish. sow was lickwaies covard ovar with 2 rowes of hides and 2 rowes of sheepe skinnes, soe that noe musket bullet or steele arow could pearse it, of which triell was often made.

The lesar sow was made only to goe before to cleere the waie, being but 6 foote long and 3 foote brod, bult strong, as above, only run but upon one whele lick a wheele barow, and cheefely inployd to goe for vittell for the great sow to the camp, and for any to com to the bigg sow when thaie desired.

The discription of the leathern peece ofordenanc enemy.

The said peece was aboutt 5 foote in length, not bult upon caredge, but fastened in a stocke of timber. This goon thaie planted in the great trench, neere the castell, to be redy when thaie found made by the accation to discharge har, the dimetrie being aboutt 5 inches; the lethar thaie made har withall was leetell bettar then halfe tand. Now having fineshed these inventions,

> Sir Danell O'Brien gives advies this night, being dark, to make divars firres about oure sight, where by wee might gase upon them and neglect oure charge, and in the mene for forty or more musketteeres to steele beyand the castell, and to get into the hadgard, and there to make sheltars of the corne and stone, both to defend shottes and sheltar themselves, by which menes thaie might bar us from wattar and libarty of goeing outt, which plot, in regard of the dark night, tuck efect. This night thave lickwaies intrenched

themselves one the north sid of the castell within peternell shott of the castell, where thave planted thee fore said peece, soe that now wee were soe compast in that wee were not abell to step forth of dore nor recovar any watar. The next morning thaie made triell of there lethern gun at us, but shee only gaue a great report, having 3li of powthar in har, but lett fly backwarde the bullet remaining within. Thaie lickwaies lett fly divars musket shot at all oure spick holles, but God be praised did noe hurt. Now upon this wee tuck great care in ordring strong and carefull wach, every one knowing his one plase, and sufar very leettell releefe to goe to the men in the hadgard, but would comonly lett halfe a dusen musket shott flie togethar at whome soe evar wee spied goeing with releefe, by which menes fowe scaped to them but were faine to ly by it. Wee continewed exchanging shots very hott tell the Sondaye morning, and had the kiling of divars, and lost not one within the castell. Now the enemies seeing that wee aimed not soe much at boyes as men, thaie apointed two boyes to com with meat to the sow, the pigges within being in want; which boyes being discovard, one was kild and the othar wounded. Al this while the men in the haggard had bin disapoynted of there vittell in regarde of oure good wach, which cased them to rub out the eares of corne and feede upon it. But there felowes abrode considering there great want, apoynted three men to ventar to them with a paire of quarnes and a sive, that thave might make bread of the corne and releve them selves there with; but these 3 men could not eskape to them, but lost there lives by the waie, and there laie, soe that thave were prevented of that plot. Now heere upon there comandars sent for a cott to releve them by watar; but the men being hungarly sett thaie ventard the Satardaye night to askape awaie, but divars of them lost there lives by it, and part remained in the haggard; whereupon there comandars comanded six to ventar in with provition, not knowing that soe many of them escaped and

were slaine, for them that scaped being awery of the sarves went cleere awaie, and 4 of the 6 were by us slaine.

Now the men that were within the sow being got neere the castell, began to raile and threeten that by Mondaye night thaie would draw us out of the castell by the neckes, to whome anshwer was returnd that wee would mak them wish thaye had kept furthar of; upon that one of them in a preshumtious waie stept out, but one of the castell being provided for any of them, lett fly and kild hem.

This night Terlough O'Brien and Abram Baker came into the fort, the night being dark, and the said Brien cased Baker and anothar to goe with hem and make a hovell of bordes against the bane gate, and to boare holes through the gate, where by thaye might shutt at any that came out of the castell into the bane; but of that wee had prevented them, having foremarly ramed the doear within up with earth, where upon the said Terlough returned that night up to there camp.

Watar was now groen extreame and skears amung all that were with in the castell, soe that thaye were faine to boyle there salte mette two or three times in one watar, and saved all the raine watar with sheets and vessells that poseble thaie could, but all was to leetell to quenc the thurst of all that were within, soe that many that had not beere were lick to peresh, and would have given six penc a quart for watar to any that would ventar for it, but being compast in the maner as thaye were none would ventar.

February 27th, sowes taken.

One the Sondaic morning my brothars and the rest of the men resolued to ventar forth for wattar, which most desparatly thaye perforemed, furst ventaring upon the men that were gon into the haggard, leving men suffishent within the castell to kepe the enemy of from releving the sow or haggard, which company in the haggard lost there lives, only one that shwam over the lough. Having had good succes heere, thaie then fell upon the sowes, recovering both, and kiling and mortall wounding all the men that were therein, only Abraham Baker, whom thaie tuck prisnor, and gaind in the sowes one great fowling peece, I houlbard, one sword, 4 skeanes, 4 pikes, 3 halfe pickes, 2 gread iron sledges, 2 great iron bares, 2 pickaxes, 4 spades, 5 shovels, 1 great hamer, one boriar, 1 paire quarnes. Notwithstanding, the enemy kept there camtes, not removing from us tell the 12th daie of March, only leving som ambushe in most viledges neerest us, expecting to cutt oure gard of whenere thaie saled forth for any fresh releefe, the which, however, wee ventard forth for, and finding there plotes in lying oure naithbore howsing, wee indevard and did performe heere upon to make the waies a leetell cleerar in burning all the howsing that was within a mile or bettar of us; by which menes we were abell to ventar forth much the more salfe, and usely aftarwardes, tell oure second seedge, ventard forth, and gaine many praies.

The Castell of Inshecronane was beseidged the 13th of March, Inshecrobeing the daie aftar thaye left Balyaly, by Gileduffe O'Shanes and nane Castell beethe Grades, and som Conoth men that were returning home; where seedg. upon Anthony Heathcot sent a lettar to the Earle of Thomond, promesing his lordship a rick of wheat, if his lordship would bee plesed to releve hem; whereupon the earle sent for Durman O'Brien and John M'Namarow and there companyes to goe with hem, which thave did accordingly, and lickwaies tuck his one trope and about 50 English men in armes, and went (according to Mr. Heathcotte's desire); but before hee came to the castell som of the Irish sent notes to the seeidgars, where upon thair removed before his lordship came; but, however, finding two or three rogges remaining in the bushes, his lordship kild them. But the rick of wheat by the enemy was burnt. Now the Earle returned home, the seidg being cleered, som of the English ventard forth to recovar fresh provition, but thaie ventard not far, but the Gradies and the Rowhans fell upon them and kild 9; suffering only

one Newman to returne with nues, losing all there peeces. Now Giladufe and the rest came against the castell againe; wheare upon the fore said Heathcot sent to Durman O'Brien to bring them and there goodes of; wheare upon the said Brien ordard the English to give the said Shanes xx¹ⁱ, and soe to part with there goodes; but thaye noe sonar opend there castell, but whom pleased intard in, and tuck more of there goodes awaie; soe som of them were sent to Clare Castell, and som came to Balyaly, without any provition to mainetaine them. But, notwithstanding there quartar, thaie lickwaies killed the foresaid Newman then.

The 18th of Maye my brothar Thomas and Joseph went forth and tuck 16 men more with them, and went to the friers land of Aughrim, where a company of Durman O'Brien's laie to defend the friers, but not withstanding thaie gaind and brought hom with them 28 cowes, 120 sheepe, and som gottes. But within a short time aftar Durman O'Brien, and divars others, came and laie one night in the church, and the next morning the cattell being put to gras thaie were regaind by the said Brien and ambushes, the gretest parte.

^{*} In these parts the manuscript is not legible.

Aboutt the 15th of June the ward of Clare Castell came to us, and desired my brothars to joyne with them and som of oure warde to goe for a praie, the which thaie granted, Claremen being 28. Thaie had gon but two mile, and there my brothar Thomas meeting with on Conell O'Herr, being a noted rebell, he shat hem as hee was runing awaie and kild hem. Thaie marched this daie at lest x mile compas, and gand divars cattell and sheepe, all which thaie drove with them awaie to Clare, where Captaine Norton and Mr. Brickdall prevaild with my brothars, in regard of many poore peopell thaie had, to leve that praie there, and the next thaie should have holey to Balyaly, which thaie granted. Now after a very good dinner thaie returnd to Balyaly, and expecting that the cuntry laie waight to cutt Balvaly gard of upon there returne, thaie desired the ward of Clare to goe home with them, which thaie did according, and according the enemy were gethard som 300; and laie in the wood and hedges of Cnockrow, neere the castell, where thaie must of nesesety goe through or els not recovar home. Being com within shott the enemy was discovard, where upon thaie exchanged many a shott, and at last som of the enemies draping, the rest began to run; not any of oures being slaine, only one hurt. Upon this the ward of Balyaly parshued the enemy, and kept them in som plaie, and Clare ward in the mein returnd to Clare in salfty, and Balyaly men got salfe home. God be praised.



MACARIÆ EXCIDIUM

OR

THE DESTRUCTION OF CYPRUS

CONTAINING

THE LAST WAR AND CONQUEST OF THAT KINGDOM.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN SYRIACK BY PHILOTAS PHYLOXYPRES

TRANSLATED INTO LATIN BY GRATIANUS RAGALLUS P: R: AND NOW MADE INTO ENGLISH BY C: $\hat{0}$ K:

ANNO DOMINI

1692.



GRATIANUS RAGALLUS P. R.

HEALTH TO THE READER.

In my youthfull travels in Asia (Europe), I met an old manuscript in the Syrian (French) language, containing a breif history of the last war and conquest of Cyprus (Ireland), which I brought along with me and laid up among my books, without taking further notice of it at that time. But of late I began to consider, that some of our present transactions here in Europe seem to carry no small resemblance with several passages in that history, which gave me the curiosity to translate it out of the Syriack (French) into Latin. And perhaps I had the vanity to believe that my labour would not be ungratefull to others, and especially to you, courteous reader, to whom I now present it.

The author was Philotas (Colonel Charles O'Kelly), commonly called Philo-Cyprus (the Irish Patriot), for the singular love he bore his countrey. His extraction, by the father of an ancient Cyprian (Irish) family, and by the mother of an old Cilician (English) race, made him equally concerned for both; and his being an eye-witness of the most memorable actions that happened in the island of Cyprus (Ireland) in his own time, renders the authority of his writing unquestionable. He compiled this short treatise soon after the conquest of his countrey, and in his

old age; least the fates, by cutting of the thread of his life, might disable him to leave a more copious relation to posterity, as he designed.

He was bred in his younger years in that part of Lycia (Netherlands) which owned the Egyptian (Spanish) power, and consequently retained the worship of Delphos (Rome). studied rhetorick under the famous Professor of eloquence, Veru-), in whose learned school it was a common lenus (practice to extol the worth, and celebrate the memory, of those brave heroes of former times who generously postponed all that could be dear to them in this world to the glory and welfare of their countrey. And this being often inculcated by the renowned master, wrought a virtuous emulation in his disciples to imitate the example of these great men; but particularly left such a deep impression in the soul of Philotas (The Author) that it could never be rooted out, having retained it to his dying day, alway preferring the interest of his country (next to the worship of the immortal Gods) before all other considerations. And tho' he wanted power to prevent the fatal conquest, for which no man could be more sensibly afflicted, he had, however, this comfort in the common calamity, to make it appear to the world, even by this breif epitome, that the loss of Cyprus (Ireland) cannot be justly imputed to the cowardice or infidelity of the natives; but rather to the wrong politicks of a weak prince influencing some of the noblemen and chief officers, whilst the generality of the Cyprians (Irish) wanted neither resolution nor courage to defend their dear - country, and what they held much more dear, the religion of their ancestors.

It was about the latter end of autumn, when Prince Theodore (King William) invaded Cilicia (England), and it was mid winter when poor Amasis (King James) was forced to make his escape into Syria (France). The season being then fitter for consultation

than action, he stayed there with his virtuous queen till towards the beginning of spring, when taking leave of her, and of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), who furnished him with a considerable sum of money, he was wafted over in a stately Syrian (French) fleet into the island of Cyprus (Ireland), where he was received with all the demonstrations of a real and hearty welcome that could be expected from the best of subjects, and the most zealous professors of the true worship. All degrees, ages and sexes concurring unanimously to express their unfeigned joy, the Viceroy Coridon (Tyrconnell), with a gallant troop of the nobility, met him near Amathus (Cork), and conducted him with great pomp and magnificence to the capital City of Salamis (Dublin).

The whole island of Cyprus (Ireland) owned at this time the authority of Amasis (James), except the City of Satrachus (Derry), inhabited by a Cilician (English) Colony, which, together with some particular places in Lapithia (Ulster), declared for Prince Theodore (William); but Satrachus (Derry) was blockt up by Monganes (Richard Hamilton), and those troops, which Coridon (Tyrconnell) sent to reduce the rebells in that place before the King's arrival. Amasis (James), without any stay in Salamis (Dublin), tho' the season was very bitter, posted away to the camp before Satrachus (Derry), in order to preserve his Martinesian (Protestant) subjects there from the ill treatment which he apprehended they might receive from the Cyprians (Irish), and he went there with an assumed confidence that they would upon his arrival submit and receive him with open arms into the city; but he was a little surprized, when, instead of submission, they shot a shower of arrows against him, which wounded some of his attendance, and it was not then doubted but they aimed chiefly at his royal person.

Amasis (James), now finding his mistake of the good opinion he conceived of his subjects in Satrachus (Derry), retired back to Salamis (Dublin), when he convoked the states of the kingdom,

and spent in vain consulations the whole summer season, which might be better employed to go on more vigorously with the siege of Satrachus (Derry), the only considerable place in Cyprus (Ireland) that owned the authority of Prince Theodore (William). In this convention of the states Amasis (James; could not be perswaded to abrogate the iniquitous laws enacted by Queen Eleusina (Elizabeth) against the worship of Delphos (Rome), and the spiritual jurisdiction of the Arch-Flamin (the Pope), least it might alienate from him the hearts of his Martinesian (Protestant) subjects in Cilicia (England), whom he always courted. And it was not without some regret that he consented to abolish the unjust decree of his brother Pythagoras (Charles), which confirmed to the Cilician (English) rebels the lands of the loyal Cyprians (Irish), formerly given them by Attilas (Oliver Cromwell) and his regicide Cilician (English) senate, when, after murdering Pythagoras (Charles) the First, they declared against Monarchy and set up a Commonwealth. And it is much doubted, to this day, if Demetrius (Count d'Avaux), Ambassadour of Syria (France), had not warmly interposed, reminding him often of his engagement to Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) to redress the injustice done to his Cyprian (Irish) subjects, whether any other consideration would prevail with him to restore to the loyal Cyprians (Irish) the inheritance of their ancestours, which they lost in the service of the Kings his father and brother; though the late Cilician (English) proprietors were at that very time in open hostility against him. But, as he stood altogether in need of the freindship and assistance of Syria (France), he could not well deny abolishing that unlawful decree; nor could Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) in honour see the Cyprians (Ireland) unjustly deprived of the benefit thereof. as being guarantee for the performance of a former treaty between Pythagoras (King Charles) the First and the Delphicans (Roman Catholics) of Cyprus (Ireland).

Amasis (King James), however, was so intent upon following the advice of his favourites, not to act any thing in favour of the Cyprians (Irish), or for the re-stablishment of the worship of Delphos (Rome), that might dissatisfy his Martinisian (Protestant) subjects in Cilicia (England), (who as they believed would undoubtedly recall him, if he continued his wonted moderation) that, pursuant to this maxim, he would not admit the Delphican Flamins (Roman Catholic Bishops) to take their places in the assembly of the states, tho' he allowed it to four Martinesian Flamins (Protestant Bishops): All the rest of that stamp being gone into Cilicia (England) to join with Theodore (King William), and for whom these also declared, as soon as he appeared with any power in Cyprus (Ireland). So that whoever considers the different behaivour of this Prince in the temple and senate, would take him for a serious Delphican (Roman Catholic) in the one, and a true Martinesian (Protestant) in the other.

About this time Montocles (Lord Mountcashell) was sent by Amasis (King James) into Lapithia (Ulster) with a reinforcement of four legions to reduce the rebels of Tyrrhia (Enniskillen). This young nobleman was a peer of Cyprus (Ireland), lineally descended from the ancient Kings of Amathusia (Munster). He was the first Lieutenant General of the Cyprian (Irish) Army, a man of parts and courage, wanting for no quality fit for a compleat officer, if he were not somewhat short-sighted.

Tyrria (Enniskillen) is a town situated in an island in the midst of a spacious lake, which, after a long course, disburthens itself by a narrow channel into the great Western Sea. The town itself is of no strength, but the castle is an old fabrick held impregnable before the invention of so many formidable new engines. It was the antient seat of the noble family of Maguris (Colonel M'Guire), who were, time out of memory, absolute lords of that large territory on both sides of the lake. This town and castle were at this

time possessed by the Martinesians (Protestants) of Lapithia (Ulster), for the most part of Pamphilian (Scotish) extraction. They were a numerous and warlike people, giving no small disturbance to the King's party in that province, and thereby hindering the army before Satrachus (Derry) to press the seige with that vigour which was requisite to gain a place of such consequence. Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), being commanded to reduce those rebels, attacked a strong castle within 160 furlongs to Tyrria (Enniskillen); but wanting rams, and other warlike instruments, and understanding that the enemy, strongly reinforced out of Cilicia (England), were advanced to releive it, he retired into an advantagious ground, where he placed his troops in very good order to receive the Cilicians (English); but his men were raw and newly raised, so that the cavalry, headed by Antenor (commander in chief under Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), upon the ennemy's first appearing, shamefully ran away without stricking a blow; and the foot abandoned thus by the horse, and seeing that the general was killed, soon followed the example. upon brave Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), being left alone in the field, his horse killed under him, and himself grievously wounded, was taken prisoner, and carried all bloody into Tyrria (Enniskillen), where he lay long under cure; but before he was fully recovered of his wounds he made his escape, after a strange and wonderfull manner, to the universal joy of all Cyprus (Ireland). This was the first defeat given to the Cyprians (Irish), which filled all people with such a terrour, that Lysander (Sarsfield), a young captain beloved by the soldiery, commanding at that time some troops about Cerbia (Sligo), to defend that part of Paphia (Connaught) from incursions out of Lapithia (Ulster), upon the first notice of this overthrow, quitted Cerbia (Sligo), and never rested until he marched to Arsinoe (Athlone), leaving the province of Paphia (Connaught) exposed to the enemy.

Amasis (King James) all this while made but a slender preparation to reduce Satrachus (Derry), and the few other places that held against him, having disbanded the new raised troops, when he should rather send them to reinforce his army before Satrachus (Derry), which for want of sufficient supplies could not take the city. And upon the assurance of an invasion out of Cilicia (England), under the conduct of Nisias (Schomberg), a great captain, they were ordered to quit the seige, and to march streight to Salamis (Dublin), where Amasis (King James) was now somewhat of the latest, giving out commissions to raise more men in order to oppose the invasion.

Nisias (Schomberg), having landed in the north of Cyprus (Ireland), took the town and strong castle of Agidos (Carrickfergus), and advanced with his army near the City of Tremithus (Drogheda), but finding that Amasis (King James) was got there before him, with a numerous body of horse and foot, he retired hastily to Lodron (Sunderland), where he fortified his camp, having the province of Lapithia (Ulster) behind him, and the conveniency of the sea to furnish him with provisions out of Cilicia (England). Amasis (James), at the head of a gallant army, advanced towards him, and pitched his royal camp within 60 furlongs of that of Nisias (Schomberg), who made a defensive war all that summer; not one appearing out of his trenches, tho' often provoked by Amasis (James), who, by his neglect to attempt forcing the Cilician (English) camp (especially about the latter end of the campaign, when it was slenderly manned), lost a fair opportunity of putting an end to the war of Cyprus (Ireland), and perhaps to that of Cilicia (England), where the Amasians (Jacobites), if Nisias (Schomberg) were defeated in Cyprus (Ireland), would be encouraged to fall upon the Theodorites (Williamites), and declare for Amasis (King James).

Another oversight committed by the captains of Amasis (James)
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was to give Nisias (Schomberg) the honour of decamping last; whereas if they had stayed a little longer, which they might well do, having Tremithus (Drogheda) and Salamis (Dublin) at their back, and three parts of Cyprus (Ireland) behind them, from whence they might be continually supplied with all necessaries, 'tis probable that the army of Nisias (Schomberg) would moulder away; the one half of them being already consumed by diseases, which hunger and cold, and the change of climate, engendred among them. But the young commanders were in some haste to return to Salamis (Dublin), where the ladies expected them with some impatience. So that Amasis (King James), being once more perswaded to disband the new levies, and raising his camp a little of the soonest, dispersed his men too early into winter quarters, having spent that campaign without any advantage, vainly expecting that his Martinesian (Protestant) subjects of Cilicia (England) who were in the camp of Nisias (Schomberg) would come over to him.

And now the winter season, which should be employed in serious consultations, and making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, was idly spent in revels, in gaming, and other debauches unfit for a Delphian (Roman Catholic) Court. But warlike Nisias (Schomberg), who after the retreat of Amasis (James) had leisure to remove his sickly soldiers, to bury the dead, and put the few that remained alive and healthy into quarters of refreshment, took the field early in the spring before Coridon (Tyrconnell) was awake, and reduced the Castle of Soloe (Charlemont), the only place that held for Amasis (James) in the province of Lapithia (Ulster), which was lost for want of provisions; for the concerns of unfortunate Amasis (James) were ill managed by those whom he entrusted with the administration of publick affairs.

The rumour that spread of Theodore's (William's) coming in

person to invade Cyprus (Ireland) that summer, encouraged his party there to endure the last extremity, in hopes of seeing now a speedy end to the war. But it did not so much alarm Amasis (James), who seemed as if he were resolved, in case Theodore (King William) had not come over that season, to make no great effort to expell the Cilicians (English) out of Cyprus (Ireland). This resolution was beleived to proceed from a wrong maxim of state, which his evil counsellours prompted him to embrace, that the only way to recover Cilicia (England) was to loose Cyprus (Ireland); for they perswaded him that Cyprus (Ireland) being once reduced, the Cilicians (English) would immediately recall him, as they formerly brought in his brother Pythagoras (Charles); but this was a favour he could not hope for, whilst he headed a Cyprian (Irish) or a Syrian (French) army. And so, like the dog in the fable, he must let go the substance to snatch at the shadow.

It is the greatest misfortune that can befall a Prince to mistake his true interest. The least trip of this kind occasions a fall, which is not so easily recovered; and every material transaction grounded upon the fallacy of wrong measures gives a dangerous, if not an incurable wound. A monarch who rules several kingdoms, different in humours and professions, must keep them, if possible, in such a ballance that neither of them shall be capable to suppress the rest. And this maxim ought to be more carefully observed by Princes who come to succeed not in a masculine line, in the throne of that kingdom which pretends to be master. Pythagoras (King Charles) the First was not mistaken in his politicks when he raised a Delphican (Roman Catholic) army in Cyprus (Ireland) to counterpoise so many new anti-monarchial sects which began in his time to spring up in Cilicia (England). And if it was the true interest of Pythagoras (King Charles), tho' a zealous Martinesian (Protestant), to act after this manner, certainly it was much more the interest of Amasis (James), a Delphican (Roman

Catholic) Prince, to preserve the Cyprian (Irish) nation, of whose loyalty and assistance he might be always secure, and not expose them to be worried by his and their merciless enemies. His father Pythagoras (King Charles), though he understood it was his true interest to continue the Cyprian (Irish) army, yet the poor Prince had not the courage or constancy to keep it on foot, but was soon prevailed upon to disband them, thereby exposing himself naked to the mercy of his treacherous subjects. The tragical end of that unfortunate King should be an everlasting warning to all Princes, not to confide too much in the good nature of rebellious subjects. And a man might rationally conclude, that of all mankind Amasis (James) should be most concerned to shun that rock on which his his father made such a memorable shipwreck. But it seems that neither his father's misfortunes, nor his own late experiments, could make him alter the fond opinion he once conceived of the good afection of his Cilician (English) subjects, nor the unhappy resolution which many believe he took to loose Cyprus (Ireland) in order to recover Cilicia (England). However, this grand design, communicated only to a few favourites, must be carried on so cleverly as not to be perceived by Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) or the old Cyprians (Irish); whereupon Amasis (James) made it his business to get Demetrius (Count d'Avaux), the Syrian (French) Ambassadour, and Rosines (M. de Rosin), a brave captain, recommended to him by Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), both removed out of Cyprus (Ireland). Because, as the first was a man of profound judgment, and the other could not be endured by Coridon (Tyrconnell), in regard that he was more knowing in the art of war than the Captain General, they could not well hope to compass their design, if these two great men continued in the kingdom. At the same time Coridon (Tyrconnell) got himself rid of Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), who was to command the 6,000 young soldiers sent into Syria (France), in exchange for so

many of the veteran army which were come from thence under the command of Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), who had a double character of Ambassadour and Captain. And indeed Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), who could not indure Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) haughty humour, was not displeased to goe serve in Syria (France) under the great Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.).

Amasis (King James) and Coridon (Tyrconnell), now left to themselves, had leisure to concert in private with those of the Cabal the fittest methods that could be taken to perfect their secret project. Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) was soon gained to be of their opinion, tho' wee may reasonably suppose that the bottom of the design was not discovered to him, because it was so much against the interest of the King his master. Whilst they were in these close consultations, they had an assurance of Theodore's (King William's) landing in Lapithia (Ulster) with great forces, not only out of Cilicia (England) and Pamphilia (Scotland), but also out of Lycia (the Netherlands), Lydia (Denmark), Cappadocia (Sweden), and Armenia (Germany); and that having joined those troops which Nisias (Schomberg) had in readiness before him, he made up a formidable army. Whereas Amasis (King James) had at that time but a slender one, having the winter before, by the advice of Coridon (Tyrconnell), or rather by his orders (for he was in effect the King of Cyprus) (Ireland), disbanded forty legions, newly raised, because they were for the most part composed of the old Cyprian (Irish) race, for whom Coridon (Tyrconnell) seemed to have no great inclination, beleiving them more dangerous than Theodore (King William) himself. Amasis (King James), however, advanced from Salamis (Dublin) on the —— day of the fourth month* (June), with those few forces, to meet an enemy that had double his number, and whose troops were in much better order and discipline. But he possessed him-

^{*} Old style.

self of an advantageous post between the province of Lapithia (Ulster) and that of Salaminia (Leinster); and though it might be well defended against a far more numerous army than that of Theodore (King William), yet Amasis (King James) quitted it upon Theodore's (William's) advance, and retired in great journeys to Tremithus (Drogheda), where he pitched his camp, resolved to wait there for the enemy and give him battle. The Cyprian (Irish) army was not a little disheartned by this sudden retreat of Amasis (King James); for as nothing animates the Cyprians (Irish) more than to be led on to assault, so nothing can discourage them more than to retire from an enemy. And this is common to all new raised troops, but particularly to such as are not so well officered, which was too much the case here; for Coridon (Tyrconnell) employed very few but creatures of his own, though never so unfit to command.

But wee must confess that the measures taken all along by Amasis (King James) were no way agreeable to the rules of true prudence and good politicks, or the antient and modern maxims of war; for, as it is a received principle among conquerours to hasten the decision of the quarrel by battle, whilst their army is fresh, hearty, and numerous, so it is the known interest of those who are upon the defensive to follow contrary methods, and to delay coming to a general engagement, until the invaders may be had at a cheap rate, when fatigues, diseases, and other incommodities, which they are to expect in an enemy's country, will make them notably decay, both in courage and number, and when they are so harassed that they may be easily defeated without any great hazard. Besides, a victory which is obtained without bloodshed, and the loss of men, brings more reputation to the general, for it is wholly attributed to his own conduct; whereas his captains and soldiers must share with him in the glory of gaining a battle. It was therefore the interest of Amasis (King James) not to fight at

that time, but to retire to Salamis (Dublin) and join the rest of his troops left for the guard of that city, where he might have three parts of the kingdom at his back to furnish him with all necessarys; whilst Theodore (King William) had only the province of Lapithia (Ulster), which was then ruined and laid desolate, to furnish him with provisions, much of which he could not then expect out of Cilicia (England), as both the Cilician (English) and Lycian (Dutch) fleet were about that time defeated by the navy of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), which gave him the absolute dominion of the seas. Notwithstanding all these reasons, which should oblige Amasis (King James) to prolong the war, he was fatally resolved, and that without staying for all his forces, to put his title to three kingdoms upon the event of one day.

Amasis (King James) encamped upon the Salaminian (Leinster) side of the river of Lapithus (Boyne), which anciently divided that province from Lapithia (Ulster). It was fordable in several places, and no trench cast up for the defence of these fords. Theodore (King William) no sooner arrived than he pitched his camp on Lapithia (Ulster) side the same river. The first day was spent in discharging from both camps the great engines of war commonly used to batter the walls of towns and castles, which destroyed a great many men and horses in Theodore's (King William's) camp. But these engines were sent away that night to Salamis (Dublin), and Amasis (King James) ordered his men to pull down their tents and prepare for a march, which was no sooner done than countermanded.

This irresolution of the King discouraged the army, who the next day, being the first of the fifth month* (July), was furiously attacked by the Theodorites (Williamites), who, after a hot dispute, forced a passage over the river; and fresh supplies pouring after them, the

Amasian (Jacobite) troops, coming down in small parties to support those who guarded the river, were still beaten back. Whereupon Amasis (King James), instead of commanding the whole army, which was then drawn up, to advance, ordered them to march on to Salamis (Dublin), exposing them all to be cut of by the enemy, who pursued them in the rear. He rid before with a select party of horse for his guard, and arriving that night at Salamis (Dublin), he went of next morning by break of day, and never stopped till he came to the seaport town of Marium (Kinsale), 100 leagues distant from the place of battle, where he no sooner arrived than he got on board a Syrian (French) vessel, which he found in the harbour, and setting sail for Syria (France), he was the first man that brought into that country the unwelcome news of his unhappy defeat. But before he left Salamis (Dublin) he ordered the officers there to disperse their men and make the best conditions they could for themselves.

The courage and valour of Amasis (King James), whereof he gave a thousand demonstrations by sea and land, made the world conclude that this flight was not altogether occasioned by an act of pusillanimity, but proceeded rather from a wrong maxim of state. For after arriving in Syria (France) he was so far from solliciting any soccours from thence to support the war in Cyprus (Ireland) that he told Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) all the island was lost, and the people in no condition to be relieved. And indeed some runaway Syrians (French), who fled out of Cyprus (Ireland) along with Amasis (James), to palliate their own flight, gave out very confidently that the Cyprians (Irish) in the day of battle forsook their King, and the auxiliary Syrian (French) forces, who were all cut to peices; and it is likely they might beleive it was so, for they did not stay to be witnesses of that honourable retreat which the Syrian (French) foot and the Cyprian (Irish) cavalry made along to Salamis (Dublin). The

few Cilician (English) courtiers, who stayed with the Queen in Syria (France) to justify the flight of their King, did not spare calumniating the Cyprians (Irish), whom they trumpeted about to be the greatest villains and traitors in the world, having not only abandoned their Prince and left him exposed to the enemy, but also immediately submitted to Theodore (King William) and owned his authority.

This calumny, so artfully spread abroad, made such a noise in Syria (France), that the Cyprian (Irish) merchants, who lived there since the conquest of Attilas (Oliver Cromwell), durst not walk abroad or appear in the streets, the people were so exasperated against them; and no other relation coming out of Cyprus (Ireland) to contradict it, for Coridon (Tyrconnell), who was no stranger to the plot, put an embargo on all ships, to hinder any account from thence into Syria (France), that might gainsay what was told there upon the arrival of Amasis (James). Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) himself, who never hitherto wanted true intelligence, finding no account of the Cyprian (Irish) affairs contrary to these relations, confidently averred by persons of unquestionable credit, had no reason to misbelieve it; and consequently giving all the island for lost, he judged to no purpose to send relief to a people that were not capable of any. He therefore ordered the admiral of his victorious fleet to bring out of Cyprus (Ireland) his own troops, and such of the Cyprian (Irish) army and nobility as had a mind to retire from bondage.

But to return to our forlorn army on the river of Lapithus (Boyne): though they were abandoned by their chief, the cavalry, however, with the assistance of 6,000 Syrian (French) foot, made a brave retreat, fighting and marching day and night till they came to Salamis (Dublin), where, finding neither king nor captain general, nor indeed any prime officer, and understanding that Amasis (James) left orders that every man should shift for himself, they

were in a great consternation. But the death of Nisias (Schomberg), killed upon the first onset, both hindered them from being hotly pursued, and gave them time to retire leisurely to Paphos (Limerick). And indeed 'tis admirable how every individual person, both officer and soldier, came thither without any orders, and even without the conduct of any of their chief commanders, as if they had been all guided to Paphos (Limerick) by some secret instinct of nature. In a week's time after the battle the appearance there was so considerable that Coridon (Tyrconnell) and Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), the Syrian (French) general, were equally surprised. The first was concerned least such a sudden rally might hinder (at least delay) the execution of that design which was hatched in the cabinet. The other was no less troubled that so many of the Syrians (French) appeared, after he writ into Syria (France), and perhaps to Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) himself, that they were all cut of to a very few. And the contrary being now made evident (for they did not loose six men that day), he had reason to apprehend that it might bring his credit and sincerity into question in the court of Syria (France); so that these two great men being of one resolution, though for different ends, were linked together in a friendship which promised to be everlasting. Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) longed so much to be back in his own country, that he could not endure to hear of prolonging the war in Cyprus (Ireland). And it is probable that some of his captains, who longed to breath the sweet air of Syria (France), despairing of the country, beleived it impossible to preserve it. Coridon (Tyrconnell) nourished this humour because it favoured his design not to oppose Theodore (King William) in the conquest of Cyprus (Ireland). For the more speedy effecting that work, he omitted nothing that might encourage Theodore (William) to advance, and discourage the Cyprians (Irish) to resist. He shipped away his wife, a Cilician (English) lady, with

all his own wealth, and the King's treasure, into Syria (France), where she gave out, pursuant to her instructions, that all Cyprus (Ireland) was lost, to the cities of Paphos (Limerick) and Cithera (Galway), which could not hold out long; that the Cyprians (Irish) had no army; and that the nation, for the most part, submitted to Theodore (King William). All this was done in order to fortify the King's relation of the present state of Cyprus (Ireland), and to keep Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) in the dark from the true knowledge of their condition; and it was hoped that, by this artifice, the country would really be lost before the Syrian (French) King should come to know whether or no they were capable of being releived. On the other side, no endeavours were omitted by Coridon (Tyrconnell) to perswade the Cyprians (Irish) that it was folly to expect any releif from Antiochus (Lewis XIV.), who had his hands so full that he was not able to assist them, and that no visible way was now left for self-preservation but to treat with Theodore (King William), who likely at that time would grant them any conditions, that he might be at liberty to join with the rest of the confederates, in order to attack Syria (France) on all sides. But the generality of the Cyprian (Irish) nation were of another sentiment, not expecting the performance of any treaty with the Cilicians (English), who infringed so often the publick faith.

In a grand council at Paphos (Limerick), it was then concluded to dispatch two persons of quality into Syria (France), to signify their present condition, and their resolution to defend the country, not doubting but Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) would powerfully support them, as it was his true interest to give Theodore (King William) work in Cyprus (Ireland). It was also resolved in the council that Lysander (Sarsfield), the darling of the army, should command in chief next to the captain general. When these results were made known to Coridon (Tyrconnell) (for he was not that

day att council) he seemed to like neither. He said it did not belong to the council to send deputies abroad; that it was his prerogative; and that he would send when and whom he thought fit. As for Lysander (Sarsfield) he could not endure to hear of his preferment.

Theodore (King William), in the mean while, having slowly advanced to Salamis (Dublin), was joyfully received there by the Cilician (English) inhabitants, who were numerous in that city since Attilas (Oliver Cromwell) conquered Cyprus (Ireland), which was 38 years before the invasion of Theodore (King William). From Salamis (Dublin) he marched his army to Palæa (Wexford). which was surrendered without opposition, by orders from the captain general, as the commanding officer there did alledge. He also reduced the strong fortress of Condone (Clonmell) for want of a sufficient garrison to defend it, which was often represented by the governour; but it was not Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) design to harrass too much Theodore's (King William's) army, for he beleived that nothing would sooner break the obstinacy of the Cyprians (Irish) than to behold an uninterrupted course of success on the other side. Upon Theodore's (King William's) march from Salamis (Dublin) to Palæa (Wexford), he sent part of his forces to reduce Arsinoe (Athlone) on the river Lycus (Shannon), which, rising from the mountains of Lapithia (Ulster), runs up towards Amathusia (Munster), and, twenty leagues beyond Paphos (Limerick), disburthens itself into the main sea, dividing Paphia (Connaught) from the provinces of Salaminia (Leinster) and Amathusia (Munster). This tract of land between Lycus (the Shannon) and the sea may be justly called the citadel of Cyprus (Ireland), which has always been a refuge to the inhabitants of the other provinces to retire into when they were overpowered by the enemy. Lysippus (Lt.-General Douglas), the captain of Theodore (King William), who led the forces to take the town and

castle of Arsinoe (Athlone), after ten days' vain attempt upon the place, having intelligence of Lysander's (Sarsfield's) coming with a considerable party from the camp near Paphos (Limerick) to relieve it, retired hastily by night, and went by great marches to join Theodore (King William). It was remarkable Coridon (Tyrconnell) could not dissemble the dissatisfaction he received by this retreat of Lysippus (Lt.-General Douglas). And having ordered back most of the troops that came with Lysander (Sarsfield), he commanded him, however, with a very inconsiderable party, to follow and observe the enemy's motions; whilst in his absence he contrived all the means that art could invent to draw the captains of the army, among whom he had a great many creatures of his own, and the members of the council, who were for the most part of his chusing (for he did what he pleased with Amasis) (James), to condescend to a treaty with Theodore (King William), as the best expedient that could be then fixed upon for self-preservation.

To induce them the more thereto, and to dishearten altogether the Cyprian (Irish) troops, who were raw men not acquainted with seiges, from undertaking the defence of Paphos (Limerick), Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), the Syrian (French) general, having viewed all the outworks and fortifications, which, indeed, were not fully finished, he publickly declared the place was not tenable, and next day, as if he despaired of its defence, he marched to Cithera (Galway), encamping his veteran troops under the walls of that town. But all these discouragements, which were designedly concerted between Coridon (Tyrconnell) and Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), could not divert the Cyprian (Irish) infantry from their former resolution to expose their lives for the defence of Paphos (Limerick), which was of so great importance for the preservation of Cyprus (Ireland).

Theodore (King William) made no great hast to Paphos (Limerick), to give Coridon (Tyrconnell) the more time for compassing

his design to bring the Cyprians (Irish) to a general condescension for a treaty. But when he found matters well disposed (most of the prime commanders being already gained) he advanced near the town. Whereupon Lysander (Sarsfield) being sent for, and arriving at Paphos (Limerick), he was much surprised to find such a change in the general officers, who, however, durst not act any thing contrary to the sentiment of the tribunes who headed the legions, who were for the most part of Lysander's (Sarsfield) resolution to continue the war. So that upon his arrival the scene was altered, the defence of Paphos (Limerick) resolved upon, and all the infantry ordered to man the place, excepting three legions appointed to guard some fords near the town on the river Lycus (Shannon), the men at arms and light horse encamping near the city on Paphia (Connaught) side.

On the 9th day of the sixth month (August O.S.), and the 39th after the engagement on the river Lapithus (Boyne), Theodore (King William) appeared with his victorious army, and began the fatal seige of Paphos (Limerick). Next day after, Coridon (Tyrconnell), without consulting the rest of his captains, ordered the legions who guarded the fords to withdraw from thence, and march all along to Cithera (Galway); whereby Theodore (King William) had the passage left open to send part of his army on Paphia (Connaught) side of the river, and surround the city on all sides. And in effect some of his cavalry having got over, next morning made a show as if they would beseige Paphos (Limerick) on that side also. But though they returned back the same day, they did, however, so alarm the Cyprian (Irish) horse camp, that Coridon (Tyrconnell) and his inseparable Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) retired in great haste over night, and rid all the way to Cithera (Galway), leaving the horse encamped half way between that town and Paphos (Limerick). Whilst they were at Cithera (Galway) they gave out that Paphos (Limerick) could not hold above five

or six days, and that the Cyprian (Irish) soldiers were so cowed that they would never defend it. As for Cithera (Galway), they openly declared it was no place tenable, and yet both these towns were held impregnable in former times. Whilst every artifice was thus attempted to induce the Cyprians (Irish) to a speedy submission, they were not a little surprised to hear of Lysander's (Sarsfield's) fortunate success in defeating the convoy coming to Theodore's (King William's) camp from Salamis (Dublin), and destroying the great battering engines, the provisions, and all other instruments of war; which gave such spirits to the Cyprians (Irish) that they laid aside all thoughts of capitulating.

It was much taken notice of how Coridon (Tyrconnell) and Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), with all their partisans, were crestfallen upon this news; for the Syrians (French) saw that it delayed their return, and Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) creatures were very sensible that it ruined their project. They made it therefore their business to vilify and ridicule that brave action, saying it was folly to think that an accident so inconsiderable in itself could hinder the loss of Paphos (Limerick), or contribute to the preservation of Cyprus (Ireland); that the advantagious articles which might now be obtained from Theodore (King William), before the surrender of Paphos (Limerick), could not be reasonably expected after the loss of that place, which must infallibly happen within a few days; and that the Syrian (French) troops being resolved to go of, it was to be feared that the Cyprians (Irish), loosing Paphos (Limerick), and deserted by their allies, would get no other conditions but mercy. This was industriously spread among the nobles and captains of the army, who indeed had good reason to be dissatisfied with the proceedings of Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) and his Syrian (French) troops; for, instead of assistance and encouragement, they daily disheartned the people; and the irregularities they committed in their march and quarters were

so exorbitant, that it must needs alienate from them the hearts of the Cyprians (Irish). But Lysander (Sarsfield) and his party were not wanting to represent to the people that there was no danger of loosing Paphos (Limerick) when it was not beseiged on both sides; that Theodore (William) was not powerful enough to surround it; that the disorders of the Syrian (French) troops were purposely tolerated to make the Cyprians (Irish) weary of them, whereby they might have an honourable pretext to quit the kingdom, and that Coridon (Tyrconnell) designedly connived at it, because by ruining the country the people were rendered unable to maintain a war, and he hoped, besides, that this rude behaviour of the Syrians (French) would make the inhabitants of Cyprus (Ireland) incline the sooner to a treaty with the Cilicians (English), from whom they might expect milder usage. Some zealous Cyprians (Irish), as well of the nobles and officers of the army, as also some holy Flamins (Bishops), knowing that if Theodore (King William) prevailed he would suppress the Delphican (Romish) rites, were of opinion that the only way to preserve the true worship of the Gods, the service of Amasis (James), and the interest of the nation, was to lay Coridon (Tyrconnell) aside, and to enter into a mutual league and association among themselves for these salutary ends. This expedient, which the most knowing Cyprians (Irish) looked upon as the best they could take to rescue the country from the arms of Theodore (William), and the treachery of their own governours, was not, however, approved by Lysander (Sarsfield), who either wanted resolution to go on with so great an undertaking (tho' no man doubted of his personal courage), or perhaps did not think it justifiable in him to depose the viceroy of Amasis (James), and enter into a new association without the King's authority. So that this project unhappily fell to the ground, which occasioned the loss of Cyprus (Ireland).

Coridon (Tyrconnell) having now convoked all the general offi-

cers at Cithera (Galway), he produced to them (but it was under the seal of secrecy) a letter from Amasis (James), containing his orders to such of the army as were willing to repair to him, to take this opportunity of the Syrian (French) fleet, which then rid in that harbour, dispensing the rest from their oath of fidelity, and giving them free liberty to submit to Theodore (King William), and make the best conditions they could for themselves. of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) party having hereupon declared their willingness to goe of, Lysander (Sarsfield) stood up and said that this letter was grounded upon misinformation of the present state of affairs; that if the King were rightly informed how the case stood in Cyprus (Ireland), where they had a considerable army resolute to hold out to the last man, and how feasible it was to defend that part of the kingdom which lies between the river Lycus (Shannon) and the sea, until they were releived out of Syria (France), his Majesty would, instead of inviting them to leave the country, rather encourage them to stay and defend it; and that for his part he was resolved not to be imposed upon by any such artifice to abandon his country or the King's interest in Cyprus (Ireland). And most of the tribunes having declared the same resolution, Coridon (Tyrconnell) was forced to pass by the proposal for that time. Whilst they were in those hot disputes at Cithera (Galway) about abandoning the country, letters came from the governours of Paphos (Limerick) to Coridon (Tyrconnell) with an account that the enemy, having gained the outworks, got near the town wall, which they furiously battered with their rams, and other new invented engines, that were terrible to the beseiged, and therefore it was requisite the cavalry should advance to releive the town in case of danger. Coridon (Tyrconnell), finding that upon this alarm Lysander (Sarsfield) was resolved to march streight to Paphos (Limerick), believed it his interest to head the army in person, in order to hinder any brave attempt that might CAMD. SOC. 19. н

be made contrary to his design. Asinio (Count de St. Ausan), too, leaving his Syrian (French) forces encamped under the walls of Cithera (Galway), went along with Coridon (Tyrconnell), as a volunteer, for it seems they could not live asunder.

Never was a town better attacked and better defended than the City of Paphos (Limerick). Theodore (King William) left nothing unattempted that the art of war, the skill of a great captain, and the valour of veteran soldiers could put in execution to gain the place. And the Cyprians (Irish) omitted nothing that courage and constancy could practice to defend it. The continual assaults of the one, and frequent sallies of the other, consumed a great many brave men both of the army and garrison.

On the 19th day, Theodore (King William), after fighting for every inch of ground he gained, having made a large breach in the wall, gave a general assault, which lasted for three hours. And tho' his men mounted the breach, and some even entered the town, they were gallantly repulsed, and forced to retire with considerable loss. Theodore (William), resolving to renew the assault next day, could not perswade his men to advance, tho' he offered to lead them in person. Whereupon, all in a rage, he left the camp, and never stopped till he came to Palæa (Wexford), where he took shipping for Cilicia (England), his army in the mean time retiring by night from Paphos (Limerick).

The raising of this seige was so great a disappointment to Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) design that he could not, with all his cunning, dissemble his resentment. But what surprised all men was the sudden resolution he took to goe along with Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) into Syria (France), when all the world expected he would make use of this happy advantage to recover Palæa (Wexford), and perhaps all the province of Salaminia (Leinster). 'Tis true that his going of did not displease the generality of the nation, who did not like his design of subjecting the country to the power of Theo-

dore (King William), and to the mercy of the Cilicians (English), their sworn enemies. But yet there wanted not some, even of the Cyprish Delphicans (Irish Roman Catholics), who coveted nothing more than to submit to Prince Theodore (William). These were men of New Interest, so called, because they purchased from usurpers the inheritance of their own country men, which Attilas (Oliver Cromwell) and the rebellious senate of Tarsus (London) formerly distributed amongst the Cilicians (English). And these lands being all restored to the ancient proprietors by a late decree of the states general (parliament), convoked by Amasis (James), in the City of Salamis (Dublin), upon his first arrival in Cyprus (Ireland), the coveting purchasers, preferring their private gain before the general interest of religion and country, were for submitting to a government which they very well knew could never allow that decree. These, however, were the men advanced by Coridon (Tyrconnell) to all beneficial offices of the kingdom, without regard to merit or capacity for their employments; for to be a creature of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) was the only qualification requisite in those days to make a compleat captain or an able Before he took shipping for Syria (France) he established a new form of government for Cyprus (Ireland) in his absence, never before heard of in that kingdom. Twelve senators were named to manage the civil affairs, the major part being New Interest men, without whose concurrence the rest could not act. He chose Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), a natural son of Amasis (James), to command the army; and, as his youth gave him but little experience, he appointed a select council of officers to direct him, among whom Lysander (Sarsfield) was the last in commission; and it is probable he had not named him at all, but that he dreaded the army would revolt to him, if he were discontented, which might dash in peices the viceroy's project.

The viceroy's reasons for going of at such a juncture were va-

riously reported. He gave out himself, and his creatures spread it abroad, that he was sent for by Amasis (James) to give the King of Syria (France) a true account of the present state of Cyprus (Ireland), Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) having declared that the several relations of affairs there were so various and clashing that he resolved to suspend his beleif till Coridon (Tyrconnell) himself came in person to inform him. But it seemed improbable to most men that Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) would expect so great a warriour (as Coridon (Tyrconnell) was esteemed by those who were not thoroughly acquainted with him) should in the heat of a campaign abandon his army, having a victorious ennemy against him in the field, only to give the King of Syria (France) a true account of the Cyprian (Irish) affairs, which might be done by letter, or by a trusty friend or messenger; or about which Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) might send some person of credit to consult him in Cyprus (Ireland), without obliging him to quit a country where his presence was held so necessary. The dispatch that came to him out of Syria (France), which he met at sea and sent to the new senate, making no mention of his being sent for or expected there, but, to the contrary, encouraging him to a vigorous defence, and assuring him of a speedy releif from the Syrian (French) King, shews the fallacy of this reason. Others, who pretend to penetrate a little further, were of opinion that Coridon (Tyrconnell) was on fickle terms in Syria (France), and perhaps with Amasis (Jumes) himself, for having advised him to that shamefull retreat he made out of Cyprus (Ireland), in hopes it might induce the nation (who indeed were much discouraged at the King's flight) to a more speedy compliance with the design. And now that the unexpected defence of Paphos (Limerick) seemed (at least for a while) to overthrow their project and thwart their politicks of covering hereafter their own great oversights, under the specious pretext of that

false calumny of treachery and cowardice, which they endeavoured all along to cast upon the poor Cyprians (Irish), he judged it of absolute necessity to appear in person in the Syrian (French) court, in order to continue Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) still in the dark as to the true state of Cyprian (Irish) affairs, without which blind it was not possible to compass their design. Indeed he had good reason to hope that when he appeared on the place (and the truth is he was a man of good mein and stately presence) the Syrian (French) King would give more credit to the viceroy's relation, supported by the King himself, than to idle reports or letters from private hands, when nothing appeared that was authentick to the contrary. Besides, by ordering Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) and the new senate to suffer no person of quality to come out of Cyprus (Ireland) in his absence, he seemed to prevent any opposition that might be given him in Syria (France). It was, however, admired by some, how he could have the confidence to appear in that court, after acting so barefaced against the interest of Antiochus (Kiny Lewis XIV.), which was to cut out such work for Theodore (King William) in Cyprus (Ireland) as would keep him in action there, and divert him from giving the confederates that powerfull assistance which he promised and they wanted. For it was unlikely that the King of Syria (France), the most knowing Monarch in the world, should be ignorant of the transactions in a country so near him as Cyprus (Ireland), and in whose concerns he had so great an interest, or that he could be a stranger to Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) embargo on the ships, which was so public that it could not be concealed, no more than the design of it, which was easily understood. But Coridon (Tyrconnell) relying altogether on the great influence he had upon Amasis (James), and having gained Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) to confirm his relation, he beleived himself armed with all necessary precautions to succeed in his enterprise.

Upon the arrival of the inseparable friends Coridon (Tyrconnell) and Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) in the kingdom of Syria (France), the former received letters from his correspondents at court, whereby he understood that it was to no purpose to hope that he might lay the blame of past miscarriages on the nation of Cyprus (Ireland), who by their gallant defence of Paphos (Limerick) acquired such a reputation in the Syrian (French) court, that he must not think of justifying himself that way, and that no other was now left but to impute all the fault to Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) and his Syrian (French) troops. Coridon (Tyrconnell) having received this advice on the road, feigns himself indisposed and altogether unable to continue his journey; but he earnestly pressed Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) to hasten before him to court and tell the story which was formerly concerted between them; that when he came up he would confirm it, and so, after many reciprocal endearments and protestation of inviolable friendship, they parted. Deluded Asinio (de St. Ausan), making all the speed he could to give both Kings an account of the present condition of Cyprus (Ireland) (as it was formerly agreed upon by the two friends), told that it was a lost country not to be retreived; that the nation for the most part readily submitted to the Prince of Patera (Orange), to which they generally inclined; that those few who held out and defended Paphos (Limerick) were influenced by Coridon (Tyrconnell), who was the life of the cause, he alone having hitherto preserved the interest of Amasis (James) in the kingdom of Cyprus (Ireland); so that Asinio (the Count de St. Ausan) omitted nothing that might be said in commendation of his friend's conduct and courage, not doubting when Coridon (Tyrconnell) came to tell his story but he would give the like character of Asinio (Count de St. Ausan). But here the Cyprian (Irish) outwitted, or rather betrayed the Syrian (French) courtier; for Coridon (Tyrconnell) no sooner arrived than he told

both kings that, though the affairs of Cyprus (Ireland) were desperate, yet something more might be done for the interest of their Majesties, if the Syrian (French) troops could be perswaded to stay at Paphos (Limerick), or indeed to act any thing for the service of Amasis (James), or the interest of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.). Poor Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) was thunderstruck at this unkind return from his dear comrade, but it was not now in his power to gainsay the first account he solemnly gave of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) bravery; and Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) was so much dissatisfied with his behaivour in Cyprus (Ireland), that, had not the earnest interposition of Amasis (James) and the entreaties of Queen Diana (Mary) prevented it, his apartment would be certainly prepared in that dungeon, where he had it formerly, for his presumption to pretend to a great lady of the royal blood.

Coridon (Tyrconnell), nothwithstanding this good success of his first essay at court, had a hard game to play when he began to negotiate with the able and knowing ministers of Syria (France), who could not be strangers to his proceedings all along in Cyprus (Ireland); but some of those, especially of the second rank, were also gained by degrees; by what coloured arguments was best known to themselves. For it was not then doubted but that the King's gold, which Coridon (Tyrconnell) sent before him into Syria (France), was bountifully distributed to gain friends at court; which shows the weakness of human forecast, that that which purposely was laid out by Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) to continue the war in Cyprus (Ireland), and thereby give a powerfull diversion to the common enemy, should be now employed to corrupt his own servants to act against the interest of their master. Some were of opinion that his lady's former acquaintance with Antipater), the great favourite and chief minister of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), was of no small advantage to him at that time. To gain the favour of the Cilician (English) courtiers that were then about Amasis (James), he confidently imparted to them his design, and the reasons he had for it; he owned himself a Cilician (an Englishman) by extraction; that his lady was one by birth; and that whilst he continued with any power in Cyprus (Ireland) he would maintain there the Cilician (English) interest, and neither suffer it to be lost nor to be separated from the crown of Cilicia (England), as the Cyprians (Irish) would have it. This ingenuous declaration of Coridon (Tyrconnell) gained him the friendship of most of the Cilicians (English) in that court, who were not wanting to render Amasis (James) somewhat jealous of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), as if he designed to conquer Cyprus (Ireland) for himself; and that, therefore, he should follow the advice of Coridon (Tyrconnell), who knew best how to disappoint the Syrian (French) King of his intention. But to secure himself from any opposition out of Cyprus (Ireland), he got Amasis (James) to command Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) to suffer no person of quality to cross the seas in Coridon's (Turconnell's) absence; and having thus confirmed Amasis (James) in his former resolution of loosing Cyprus (Ireland), in order to recover Cilicia (England), and having demanded of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) a very inconsiderable help of a few arms and a small quantity of provisions (without calling for any other aid of men or money), which same was not to come till three or four months after, he hastened his preparations to return to Cyprus (Ireland).

The Syrian (French) fleet which wafted Coridon (Tyrconnell) and Asinio (Count de St. Ausan) was not as yet out of the bay of Cithera (Galway), when (the) young Tiridates (Duke of Berwick), at the head of 4,000 foot, 2,000 men at arms, and as many light horse, passed the river Lycus (Shannon) into the province of Salaminia (Leinster), where he attacked the Castle of a Cilician

(English) knight, to which he applyed his rams and other battering engines, tho' it might be easily gained without any such trouble. But upon an alarm of the enemy's advance to releive the place, tho' with a party much inferior to his forces, he suddenly decamped, contrary to Lysander's (Sarsfield's) advice, and never stopped till he crossed the Lycus (Shannon) back again, retiring with his troops into Paphia (Connaught), having by that successless attempt, and his shameful retreat, discouraged the army and disheartned the whole nation of Cyprus (Ireland). About this time Theodore (King William) sent into Cyprus (Ireland) a reinforcement of fresh troops under the command of Taliarchus (Lord Churchill)*, who now commanded all the Cilician (English) army in Cyprus (Ireland). He was uncle by the mother to Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), formerly a bosom freind of Amasis (King James), from whom he deserted upon Theodore's (William's) first landing in Cilicia (England), and so perfidious, that he designed to betray the poor king, and deliver him up into his enemy's hands. Taliarchus (Lord Churchill), being encouraged by Tiridate's (the Duke of Berwick's) retreat into Paphia (Connaught), and the departure of the Syrian (French) troops, assaulted the City of Amathus (Cork), which he took without much opposition, tho' it was sufficiently provided with all necessarys to sustain a long seige. But the misfortune of the governour was such that he gave up the place without even securing conditions for the garrison (as the Cilicians (English) pretended), who were all made prisoners of war, and barbarously treated. Gracchus (the Duke of Grafton), a bastard son of King Pythagoras (Charles) the Second, was killed during the attack; he commanded Theodore's (King William's) navy, and was an inveterate enemy to his uncle Amasis (James), and of the Cyprian (Irish)

^{*} Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

nation, whom he mortally hated on account of the Delphican (Romish) worship, whereof they were as zealous professors as he was a violent asserter of the Martinesian (Protestant) sect. From Amathus (Cork) the army marched streight to Marium (Kinsale), ten miles from thence; they entered the town without any resistance, the governour's orders to burn it being unfortunately delayed by the officer who had it in charge till the enemy came and possessed it, which was no small help towards carrying the fort; for the season was so cruel and bitter, being in the latter end of autumn, that Taliarchus (Lord Churchill) could not possibly keep the field; but now having lodged his men within the town, he sent detachments daily from thence to attack the new fort, which was valiantly defended by Scotoris (Sir Edmund Scott), a Cyprian (Irish) knight and a brave commander, who held out for twenty days, hoping, in vain, to be hourly releived by Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick). At length the governour, when he saw no likelyhood of soccour, and that the walls were all battered about his ears, more than two parts of the garrison being cut of, he surrendered the place upon very honourable conditions (his lady riding out in her coach upon the breach), and came to Paphos (Limerick) to give Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) an account of the action. But certainly, next to Paphos (Limerick), the new fort of Marium (Kinsale) was the place best defended in Cyprus (Ireland) during the war.

It might be easily understood by the young general's behaivour that he acted all along pursuant to the instructions of Coridon (Tyrconnell), who to make him the more observant of the rule he left him, did not fail to assure him that it was both the interest and absolute order of Amasis (James) to act after that manner; and it is probable that Amilear (John Hamilton), Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell) and Scitilla (), the Cilician (English) and Pamphilian (Scottish) directors left by Coridon (Tyrconnell)

to guide the youth (for he would not trust him to the management of Lysander (Sarsfield) or any Cyprian (Irish) commander) were not wanting to put him in daily mind of his lesson. These considerations occasioned a great meeting at Paphos (Limerick) of the nobility, Flamins, (Bishops) and prime officers of the army, who having called to their assistance the learned gownmen then in town, demanded their opinion touching the present form of government left by Coridon (Tyrconnell); and they all answered, that the power he left was not legal; for that, by the ancient constitution and fundamental laws of the land, Cyprus (Ireland) must be governed by a king or a viceroy, or at least by a deputy, or two vested with the royal authority; and there being no king, viceroy, or deputy now in the kingdom, the government was therefore unkinged, and the nation at liberty to chuse what form they thought most convenient for self-preservation. It is probable that Coridon (Tyrconnell) himself was not ignorant that his new model of dividing the power was without law or precedent, but he considered, if he made choice of Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) for his deputy (and he dare not name any other, whilst the son of Amasis (James) was in Cyprus) (Ireland), the king, who had a fond affection for the youth, might continue him in the employment and lay Coridon (Tryconnell) aside. He hoped, moreover, to be back in Cyprus (Ireland) before notice was taken of this irregularity in the government; but, whatever his reason was to leave matters in that disorder, the assembly at Paphos (Limerick) made use of it to depose his creatures (or at least endeavour it), to whom the management of publick affairs, both civil and military, were wholly entrusted in his absence. Whereupon two tribunes and an eminent gownman were sent to Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), who represented to him in mild and moderate terms, that the power left by Coridon (Tyrconnell) was

not authentick, and that there was no legal authority extant at that time in the kingdom of Cyprus (Ireland); that, however, the army and nation would unanimously chuse him for their chief, and that he should have all the power, civil and military, in his own hands, until the king's further pleasure were known, provided he would admit a select council of officers to be named by the tribunes, without whose advice and consent he should act nothing relating to the war, and two able persons of quality in every province to be chosen to assist him in the management of civil affairs. And, in fine, that agents should be dispatched immediately from the nation to give Amasis (James) a true account of transactions since he left Cyprus (Ireland), of their present condition, their resolutions, and their wants. These proposals were made to Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) on the last day of the 7th month (September O. S.), and in the third year of the war (1690). He answered, as he was prompted by his tutors, that he knew the power left by Coridon (Tyrconnell) was not legal, but that he would accept of no authority from the army or nation; saying that he might command the army as lieutenant-general by virtue of a former commission from Amasis (James); that he wondered the officers would presume to meet without his orders, and that he commanded them to disperse and return to their respective quarters. He was told by the deputies there was no such thing as a general now; and, indeed, there was no army, Amasis (James) having already discharged them of their allegiance and given them liberty to shift for themselves; and if they were left at liberty to submit to the enemy, sure they had the same freedom to defend themselves, and if Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) would not accept the chief command upon these terms, they were obliged. by the law of nature, to take the best and most proper methods they could fix upon for self-preservation. But Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) gave them no other answer that day; tho' next morning, after he consulted his directors, Lysander (Sarsfield) found him more pliant. He then was satisfied to have a council of officers for the direction of the war, to admitt two out of each province to manage civil affairs, and to consent that agents might be dispatched immediately into Syria (France), by whom he would write to Amasis (James). Lysander (Sarsfield), beleiving that nothing now was left undone to the satisfaction of all parties, and knowing that his presence was necessary at Arsinoe (Athlone) to watch the enemies' motions thereabouts (for they had a design of passing the Lycus (Shannon) and making incursions into Paphia) (Connaught), he took his leave of Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) and the rest of his friends in Paphos (Limerick).

Lysander (Sarsfield) was no sooner gone than Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) began to fall back from his promise to sign the address, which the agents were to bring with them into Syria (France), and present to Amasis (James), in behalf of the nation, if it did not expresly contain that they were satisfied with Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) conduct hitherto, which he knew very well would never be inserted, as their design was to impeach Coridon (Tyrconnell) and discover his mismanagement both to Amasis (James) and the Syrian (French) king. But Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) beleived that the rest of the officers, following the example of Lysander (Sarsfield), would soon retire to their several posts; that the Flamins (Bishops) and Nobles would also return home; and so he might have an opportunity to spin out the time and delay perfecting the matter as long as possibly he could, in hopes that winter, now drawing on, might put a stop to the agents, and keep them in Cyprus (Ireland), until some new orders came from Amasis (James), and perhaps a commission to himself to command as viceroy, which would put an end to all disputes about that legality of power, which was then pre-

tended to be wanting in Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) new model of government. This unexpected tergiversation of the young man highly incensed the nation. Lysander (Sarsfield) was sent for, and a final resolution taken to set up another form of government, excluding Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) and all Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) creatures. Happy Cyprus (Ireland) if that resolution were executed! But Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell), a cunning Pamphilian (Scotchman), finding that the Cyprians (Irish) were now in good earnest, advised Tiridates (the Duke of Brunswick) by all means to comply with their desires, and dispatch himself beforehand agents into Syria (France), to give Amasis (James) a private account how matters were carried on in Cyprus (Ireland); so that Lysander (Sarsfield) no sooner arrived at Paphos (Limerick) than he found the scene altered, and Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) quite a different man from what the late expresses he received represented to him; for he signed the address, and credentials for the agents, composed of a Flamin (Bishop) and three officers of the army; he consented that two Flamins (Bishops) and eight noblemen, to be named by the provincial meetings, should be added to the twelve already appointed by Coridon (Tyrconnell) for the management of civil affairs; and that he would admit all the general officers to be of his council of war, tho' Coridon (Tyrconnell) stinted the number to a few privados of his own. All which was assented to by Tiridates (the Duke of Berwich) without any seeming reluctancy, tho' nothing of it performed, but only what related to the agents, which was solemnly done upon the place. But that being once perfected the assembly broke up, Lysander (Sarsfield) and the rest of the patriots not doubting but the principal point being gained, immediately upon the agents arrival into Syria (France) a speedy course would be taken by Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) to enable the nation to defend themselves, and reduce their civil and military

affairs into so good a posture, that the design of Coridon (Tyrconnell) would be rendered ineffectual. The agents immediately got on board a vessel then riding in the harbour, and ready to set sail; but they were so long retarded by contrary winds that the winter was far advanced before they arrived in Syria (France), and at the same time that they landed at Molus (St. Maloes) Coridon (Tyrconnell) was ready to set sail from another port on his return to Cyprus (Ireland); but they were not many furlongs at sea when a courier arrived from Syria (France), bringing from Amasis (James) to Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) the above mentioned order, procured by Coridon (Tyrconnell), that no such persons should be suffered to go out of Cyprus (Ireland). In the king's letter, brought by the same courier, he declared that his subjects of Cyprus (Ireland) could not give greater proofs of their fidelity to him than by their ready submission and obedience to Coridon (Tyrconnell), and by their exact observance of his orders. Nothing more unwelcome than this declaration could come from Amasis (James) to the generality of the Cyprish Delphicans (Irish Roman Catholics). For it was as clear as the light of the sun, that Coridon (Tyrconnell) employed all along his utmost efforts to bring them under the Cilician (English) voke; and it appeared now that Amasis (James) was of the same resolution; but they hoped that their legates would make him more sensible of his true interest.

The Cyprian (Irish) agents made all the possible hast they could to court; but Maxilles (Colonel Muxwell) was there before them, and gave Amasis (James) what account he thought fit of all transactions. When they arrived they got a cold reception from Amasis (James), who looked on them as mutineers, and as such they were at first treatened with imprisonment; but upon further consideration, least the nation of Cyprus (Ireland), resenting so publick an affront, might be tempted to enter into a

strict league with Theodore (King William) against Syria (France), it was resolved to use them more mildly. Amasis (James) in person presented them to Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) as legates from the Delphicans (Roman Catholics) of Cyprus (Ireland); tho' it is beleived he left nothing unattempted that the authority of a Prince could doe with his subjects to make them decline their intended prosecution against Coridon (Tyrconnell), or saying any thing in the Syrian (French) court to his prejudice, or the derogation of his government in Cyprus (Ireland). Diana (Mary) herself (whom people judged more sensible of her true interest than Amasis) (James), was heard to say, she knew no reason, when the king and she were satisfied with Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) conduct, why the Cyprians (Irish) should dislike it. But the agents considered they had the concerns of a nation to look after, and that tho' the king, out of a false maxim of state, were convinced that it was his interest to let Theodore (King William) conquer Cyprus (Ireland), in hopes it might facilitate his own restoration to Cilicia (England), yet it would be a great hardship on the Cyprians (Irish) to sacrifice their lives, their estates, and fortunes, the religion of their ancestors, and all that was dear to them in this world, through a vain presumption that their ruin would reinthrone Amasis (James) in Cilicia (England), whilst they and their posterity should be reduced to an inevitable necessity of enduring a perpetual bondage, or rather of being extirpated root and branch, for that was known to have been always the design and result of the Cilicians (English).

The agents, therefore, thought themselves obliged, by the indispensable law of nature, honour, and conscience, to take other methods, as well for their own as for the preservation of those who employed and entrusted them, by giving to both kings a true account of the present state of Cyprus (Ireland), of the nation's unalterable resolution to hold out to the last, and how easy it was

to recover the whole island from Theodore (King William), or at least to keep him so employed there as to disable him from giving any considerable assistance to the confederate princes against Syria (France), and, in fine, that it was the true interest of Amasis (James) to proceed in such a manner in Cyprus (Ireland) as might enable him to enter sword in hand into Cilicia (England), and as a conquerour to establish the ancient worship of Delphos (Rome), and secure his royal prerogative from being hereafter invaded by his inconstant Martinesian (Protestant) subjects, who by the principles of their new religion were sworn enemies to monarchy. They represented, in particular, to Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) that the nation of Cyprus (Ireland), upon the assurances he gave them of his royal protection, were encouraged to declare in favour of Amasis (James) against the Prince of Patera (Orange); that, in consequence, they drew the whole force of Theodore (King William) (which might be otherwise employed against Antiochus) (King Lewis XIV.) upon themselves; that, as their country was thereby made the miserable seat of war, they thought the Syrian (French) king was bound in honour as well as interest to support them powerfully in maintaining a quarrell, which they cheifly undertook upon his encouragement. It is natural to think, that thro' respect for Amasis (James), the Cyprian (Irish) agents forebore grating too much upon Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) conduct, since the engagement on the Lapithus (Boyne); for, if all his proceedings from that day were unravelled, it would not only disabuse Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), who was hitherto kept in the dark, but would also convict poor Amasis (James), perhaps, of some ingratitude towards his best ally. But they were unwilling to expose the weakness of their king, who was imposed upon by his favourites to act against his true interest to serve their private ends. And what was still a greater misfortune was that past miscarriages seldom made him more wary for the future.

It was probable, however, that Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), notwithstanding all these precautions used by Amasis (James) and Coridon (Tyrconnell), was not altogether a stranger to the design of giving up Cyprus (Ireland) to Theodore (King William), nor to the reasons they alledged for it, viz. lest the old Cyprians (Irish), with the Syrian (French) assistance, should recover the country and keep it to themselves; but to avoid giving Amasis (James) any occasion for jealousy (an imperfection incident to all weak princes), he seemed to credit Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) relation, confirmed by the king, and for that reason refused giving the Cyprian (Irish) agents that powerfull succour which they called for, and which he beleived necessary, tho', on the other hand, not to discourage them altogether, he said that whatever Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), a captain of great conduct and experience (whom he recommended to Amasis (James) to command his Cyprian (Irish) army), after arriving in Cyprus (Ireland), and imforming himself upon the spot, should judge necessary for carrying on the work, Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) would not fail dispatching it immediately.

Whilst things were in this agitation in the Syrian (French) court, that part of Cyprus (Ireland) which owned the authority of Amasis (James) was most lamentably governed between Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), Lysander (Sarsfield), and the new senate. The entire province of Paphia (Connaught), and those territories in Amathusia (Munster) which bordered upon Paphos (Limerick), and were natually fortified by deep rivers and inaccessible mountains, did not stoop to Patera's (the Orange) yoke; so that the men and cattle of the other provinces came for shelter into this part of Cyprus (Ireland), and as they were in great numbers, especially those of Lapithia (Ulster), they were burthensome to the inhabitants whereever they came. But this was nothing to the disorders daily committed by the army. For all the forces of Cyprus

(Ireland), now driven into Paphia (Connaught), and other places of fatness, lived at discretion without order or discipline. Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) minded more his youthful pleasures than the conduct of his troops; the commissioners left for civil affairs pretended they had no power to regulate the soldiery; and Lysander (Sarsfield), who no doubt meant well, gave out so many clashing orders, which related as well to the civil, wherein he had no authority, as to the military government, that it did not a little contribute to encrease the confusion. But the most intolerable oppression of all was the unlimited power assumed by the storekeepers and their subalterns (who were ordinarily the worst men they could find) to seize upon the corn, cattle, butter, leather, tallow, wool, linnen, and indeed every commodity, goods and utensils, that could be named in a man's house or land, without any priviledge to the nobles, or even to the sacred Flamins (Bishops); tho' little of this was brought into the king's stores, as was pretended, but almost all converted by these harpys to their own use. These caterpillars coming out daily in swarms to search in all places both above and under ground, were ever escorted by a party of soldiers, and that commonly by Lysander's (Sarsfield's) orders; for he was so easy that he could not deny signing any paper that was brought before him. This, indeed, was held the greatest greivance of the nation under that government, during which no man could be secure of, nor even pretended to, any property; tho' to speak the truth it was not only the present case of the Cyprians (Irish), during the short administration of Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) and the Commissioners, but it was so all along in Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) reign, and even before Amasis (James) quitted the country; for, as I said before, he had only the name of a king, and Coridon (Tyrconnell) the power.

Another greivance was that which was generally beleived to be

in a great measure the occasion of the Cyprians' (Irish) ruin, and of the disorders of their government; this was the abundance of copper money that was coined by the king's orders, and which produced so many inconveniencies in the country, that it merits a more particular relation, and deserves to be traced up to it's source. When Amasis (James) arrived in Cyprus (Ireland), which was about the middle of the first month (March O. S:) of the second year of the war (1689), he found the country very bare of gold and silver (the Cilicians (English), who had all the wealth of the kingdom in their hands, having transported their effects into Cilicia) (England). And as he was not very fond of spending in hast the stock of money which Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) freely granted for the support of the war in Cyprus (Ireland), least it might oblige him to call for more; a thing he would gladly avoid, foreseeing, that by being too far engaged to any foreign prince in that manner, the reimbursement of such vast sums must exhaust his treasure, when he came to the possession of his kingdoms, which he soon expected by the voluntary submission of his deluded subjects; he was therefore advised by a Pamphilian (Scotish) privado to make use of this copper coin to serve his present turn in Cyprus (Ireland); adding that this method would enable him to employ a good part of his gold to keep in heart his friends in Pamphilia (Scotland), and gain others in Cilicia (England), which he represented was of greater consequence than the affairs of Cyprus (Ireland), and that matters being once settled there he might recall this coin again and recompence the loosers. But tho' the Syrian (French) Embassadour, Demetrius (Count d'Avaux), and the nobles of Cyprus (Ireland), assured Amasis (James) that if he laid out the money he brought from Syria (France) it would by circulation come back again into his treasury (the states general of the kingdom having already freely granted a subsidy of 200 talents), nevertheless the Pamphilian (Scottish) advice prevailed. Accordingly a considerable part of the gold was sent into that country, and the remainder being reserved by Amasis (James) for a dead lift, the copper money was resolved upon, and the mint set to work in the sixth month (August O. S.) of the second year (1689).

On it's first appearance abroad the Martinesians (Protestants) in Salamis (Dublin) shewed a reluctancy to receive it, but they were soon forced into a compliance. Elsewhere it passed pretty well in the beginning, the people who were hitherto scant of money being glad to have any coin current among them to advance trade, which was dead in the country. But when it came to be coined in such plenty that the merchants, who could not use it in foreign countries, raised the price of their outlandish ware to an unreasonable rate, and that the country people, following the example, began to rise the price of their commodities also, and, in fine, that the Syrian (French) troops, who were paid in silver, seemed to reject it, then, and not before, it began to decline. But what undervalued it most was the little esteem the great ones about court shewed for it. Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) lady commonly giving double the quantity of brass for so much silver. This made the inferior sort to vilify the coin, which became so despicable, especially after the defeat of Amasis (James) on the river of Lapithus (the Boyne), that the commodity which might be purchased for one piece of silver would cost twenty in brass; and yet Coridon (Tyrconnell), and those who governed under him, extorted from the country people their goods at the king's rate, when paid in silver. But the oppression that the poor Cyprian (Irish) merchants lay under in the cities of Paphos (Limerick) and Cythera (Galway) from the Coridonians (Tyrconnellites) was most insufferable. A factor who had his goods ready to be shipped on board a vessel hired for that purpose must have the affliction to behold his warehouse broke open, and all the intended freight, which he acquired with so great pains and expense, snatched from him in a moment; for which he had the value given him in copper according to the king's rate (or perhaps a ticket for it), which would not yield him the price of a shoe buckle in any foreign country. And tho' this plunder was daily committed under pretence of supplying the king's stores, yet the misfortune was that the nephews and neices, the friends and favourites of Coridon (Tyrconnell), got the greater part of the spoil. The town of Cithera (Galway) can bear witness that this was done commonly by his own orders, when he was there to take shipping for Syria (France). If an outlandish vessell came in by chance (for few would come designedly into a land where no other coin was used but copper), the whole cargoe was immediately seized, and the owners must stay until their ship were loaded again with the country provisions or commodities which were to be plundered from the natives. This unhappy management made all neighbouring nations shun that part of Cyprus (Ireland), which was reputed an infamous den of robbers, and a receptacle of pyrates. It was the common opinion that this pitifull project of the copper coin was purposely advised by some who designed the total ruin of Cyprus (Ireland); for it might easily be foreseen that it would quickly destroy all commerce, wherein cheifly consists the wealth of any country surrounded by the sea.

About the beginning of the ninth month (November O. S.) Lysander (Sarsfield) happily discovered a dangerous correspondence and private treaty between some of the Cyprian (Irish) senate and the ennemy. They were to cross the river Lycus (Shannon), and the conspirators were to order it so that the cities of Paphos (Limerick) and Cithera (Galway) should be delivered up to them. Upon this discovery Lysander (Sarsfield) posted to Paphos (Limerick), to give Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) an

account of the treachery. He shewed him a list sent to him from Salamis (Dublin) of the traitors' names; and tho' Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick) owned the receipt of such another list from Amasis (James), which came to him out of Tarsus (London), he could not, however, be perswaded to secure the conspirators, because they were all Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) friends; and it was by much adoe that he was prevailed upon to dismiss Riverus (Lord Riverstan) from his office of secretary, and to take the government of Cithera (Galway) from his brother-in-law, a good commander, 'tis true, raised by merit from a private soldier to the office of a tribune, generally deemed an honest man, true to his country and zealous for the Delphican (Romish) worship, and for whose removal there was no other motive but that he was ally'd to Riverus (Lord Riverstan), who was really esteemed by a great many. He was, indeed, nobly descended; but his greatest merit was the friendship of Coridon (Tyrconnell), who made him Secretary of State and War, tho' perhaps unfit for that employment. Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), however, to please Lysander (Sarsfield), and appear more carefull of the Cyprian (Irish) interest, appointed him governour of Cithera (Galway) and of the whole province of Paphia (Connaught), which contributed greatly to the defence of that province against the ennemy's incursions. Lysander (Sarsfield) hereupon, having left a good deputy and a sufficient garrison at Cithera (Galway), came to Arsinoe (Athlone), and secured all the posts thereabouts which were most exposed. About this time several emissaries were employed by Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) freinds in the senate, among the nobles and leading officers of the army, to remind them of the imminent danger they were in if they did not timely accept of the conditions offered by the Prince of Patera (Orange); and that, as for Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), it were folly to think, if he was able to releive them, he would be altogether so unmindfull of it these five

months past, since the defeat of Lapithus (the Boyne). This argument seemed plausible to several understanding men, who knew it to be the true interest of Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) to send such considerable succours to the Cyprians (Irish) as might encourage them to hold out and hinder Theodore (King William) from falling upon Syria (France); but it was a convincing one to all those who were ignorant of the measures taken both in Syria (France) and Cyprus (Ireland) to keep Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) from the knowledge of the true state of affairs; so that a great many began to hearken to the proposal, whereof some, out of a sordid avarice, preferring their private interest to that of the publick, and others out of an inveterate hatred to the old Cyprian (Irish) race, least they might be restored by the recovery of Cyprus (Ireland) to their ancient grandeur, and some really beleiving there was a necessity for it, resolved to make their own conditions and submitt to Theodore (King William). However, it is certain that the ennemy was encouraged to attack the Lycus (Shannon) in the midst of winter, when the earth was all covered with snow, or likely they would not attempt it in that cruel season, when no part of the river was fordable (they who had been repulsed the summer before, when they had a victorious army and every ford was passable), if they did not expect some friends on Paphia (Connaught) side the shore to hand them over. They made a show then, as if they designed to force a passage at Feretum (), and another at), 100 furlongs higher; but were prevented Manapolis (in both places by the vigilance of Lysander (Sarsfield), who ordered those posts to be well manned, and the country to appear in arms for the defence of the line. The truth is, the season was too severe to continue long in the field, and the indefatigable pains of Lysander (Sarsfield) discouraged their party, if any they had in Paphia (Connaught), to declare for them. These disappointments

made them resolve to retire with the loss of some men, and a great many horses, without any other advantage by their attempt, but the plunder of a few islands on the river to compensate in some manner the damage they sustained by that unseasonable expedition. The ennemy no sooner retreated than Lycurgus (Dennis Daly), a member of the long robe, a man of great knowledge in the law, and one of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) chief confidents, was confined by Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), and on the 10th day of the eleventh month (January O. S.) sent prisoner to the citadel of Cithera (Galway) on suspicion of keeping correspondence with the common enemy. 'Tis true he appeared too much for the new sect; but his deliverer was near at hand; for in a few days after his confinement he had the good fortune to hear of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) landing at Paphos (Limerick). And he was no sooner arrived than he made use of his prerogative to enlarge Lycurgus (Dennis Daly), and restore him, without any further tryal, to his former station and dignity. Riverus (Lord Riverstan) was also restored to his place in the senate; but as for that of secretary he only officiated for a while in the absence of Cleomenes (Lord Dungannon), a man of the robe too, a person of ability and parts, and generally beleived an honest man.

As those who were weary of the war, and willing enough to submitt once more to the Cilician (English) yoke, were overjoyed at the happy return of Coridon (Tyrconnell); so on the other side nothing could be more displeasing to the braver Cyprians (Irish), who were resolved not to outlive the loss of their liberty, than the arrival of a man who made it his business all along to deprive them of the greatest blessings they could reasonably hope for upon earth; for they believed that the suppression of the ancient worship, and the perpetual bondage of the country, would be the fatal consequences of that submission, which Coridon (Tyrconnell) designed ever since the defeat of Lapithus (the Boyne); and

perhaps though he did not really intend so much mischief to his native country, and the religion of his ancestours; it was, however, the common opinion that it could not be possibly avoided, if the nation was once compelled to acknowledge the Martinesian (Protestant) government of Cilicia (England). 'Tis true that he came better prepared to manage a treaty than to continue the war; for the chief Cyprian (Irish) gownmen who fled into Syria (France) after the battle of Lapithus (the Boyne) were now returned with their patron into Cyprus (Ireland); but he brought with him no soldiers and few arms, little provision, and no money. It was confidently said that he did not bring in all above a fortnight's provision for the garrisons of Paphos (Limerick) and Cithera (Galway), and perhaps he thought this same twice enough to perfect conditions which he had reason to beleive were already concluded. Nor is it unlikely that he wisely considered, if he brought more, the stubborn Cyprians (Irish) might hold out till they were powerfully releived out of Syria (France), which would spoil the great project and dash it to peices. He also thought to nick the time when his friends, whom he left behind him, were to order it so that he should find the ennemy before him in Paphia (Connaught), and the people in such a consternation that they would readily accept of any conditions he should think fit to make for them; yet it may be charitably supposed that he did not question but the Cilicians (English) would exactly perform the capitulation; which, if they had, it was the first time they observed any conditions stipulated with the Cyprians (Irish), for which reason those who were sensible of this truth could not endure to hear of a treaty.

When Coridon (Tyrconnell) left the Syrian (French) court there was no talk, nor even expectation, of any agents from Cyprus (Ireland); but being at Lyssus (Brest), ready to set sail, he understood that they landed at Molus (St. Maloes) and proceeded directly to court. He did not doubt but they were purposely

come to impeach his conduct; whereupon he dispatched a courier to Amasis (James), letting him know that it concerned him both in honour and interest to suppress this solemn embassy, and punish the agents for their presumption. And he no sooner landed in Cyprus (Ireland) than he gave strict orders that all passengers coming out of Syria (France) should be examined and narrowly searched for letters, which, if any they had, should be immediately brought to Cleomenes (Lord Dungannon), who after perusal was to order them to be kept, or given to the persons they were addressed to, as he should think fit. It was also ordered, under severe penalties, that no man whatsoever should goe out of the kingdom without Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) licence, and delivering all the letters he carried abroad, to be first perused by the secretary, and then stopt, or sent away as he thought most convenient. As for the letters coming from the Syrian (French) court into Cyprus (Ireland), by the ordinary way of couriers, when they were arrived at Lyssus (Brest), the seaport town in Syria (France), which corresponded with the Island of Cyprus (Ireland), they were brought to the prime civil magistrate there, whom Coridon (Tyrconnell) gained before hand, and by him transmitted, in one bundle and under cover, to Coridon (Tyrconnell), who by this method stopped all manner of free correspondence between the two kingdoms; so that those of one country could have no notion of what was transacted in the other but such as he was pleased to give them. And no doubt he made the right use of this great advantage to let his freinds at court know that these pretended agents were men of no interest in the country, and were employed only by Lysander (Sarsfield) and some few inconsiderable persons of his faction; that Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick), and the major part of those who, to avoid a greater inconvenience, signed their credentials, have since Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) arrival, when the restraint they lay under was taken of,

retracted their former signatures; and it is not improbable but some such instrument was drawn up, and many hands put to it, perhaps of some who never saw the thing; for it was known that Coridon (Tyrconnell) never stumbled at such shams to gain his point. He recalled the copper coin, tho' he brought no silver with him to pay the soldiers, who lived at discretion upon the country; such as were quartered abroad, and those in garrisons, being supplied out of the stores; but country and stores were now near exhausted, to which he was no stranger.

Notwithstanding all Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) precautions he could not obstruct Lysander's (Sarsfield) receiving a letter from the agents; for a Syrian (French) commander landing at Cithera (Galway), in the last month (February) of the third year (1690), and finding Lysander (Sarsfield) there, he delivered him a letter from the agents, and rode post the same day to Paphos (Limerick) to give Coridon (Tyrconnell) the dispatch he brought him from Amasis (James). In the agent's letter all Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) proceedings at court were lively described, and among the rest that notable saying of his, that a Cyprian (an Irish) army can live upon bread and water. The same letter gave great hopes of a speedy and powerfull supply of all necessarys, in consequence of their remonstrances to the King of Syria (France); and that Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), a man of great esteem there, would come over to command the Cyprian (Irish) army, without any dependance upon the viceroy. The contents of this letter (whereof copys were industriously distributed among the army and gentry) did not a little rejoice the generality of the Cyprians (Irish), but the Coridonists (Tyrconnellites) were so much nettled at it that they endeavoured to make people beleive it was forged by some of Lysander's (Sarsfield's) friends to asperse Coridon (Tyrconnell); whereas it was well known that the Syrian (French) officer who brought it, landing in Cithera (Galway) at noon day,

and all the people flocking to the governour's to learn the news, Lysander (Sarsfield) no sooner received the letter than he got it publickly read in a great assembly of nobles and officers, to the unspeakable joy and satisfaction of the whole auditory; so that the attempt to make it pass for a sham was vain and ridiculous. Coridon (Tyrconnell), on the other side, seemed to be well pleased with the dispatches he received, which assured him, as he averred, that Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) was to command under him, as Rosines (M. de Rosin) did formerly, and that the surintendency of all affairs, both civil and military, was still in his hands. Before the receipt of that pacquet, he was observed to be much dejected; he courted Lysander's (Sarsfield's) freindship with all the earnestness imaginable, protesting a real and cordial amity of his side; but now he looked big again after his usual manner; for he was naturally proud and arrogant, high and insolent. He came from Paphos (Limerick) to Cithera (Galway), where the garrison received him with all the decorum that was due to the King's Lieutenant; and he was really welcome to most of the citizens, because he was the great patron of the new interest men, of whom that town had more than all the rest of Cyprus (Ireland). He was accordingly regaled by the cheif magistrates, and nothing was seen during his abode there (even in that holy time laid aside by the sacred Flamins (Bishops) to fast and pray) but balls and banquets, bone-fires and publick rejoicings, as if the Cilicians (English) were quite driven out of Cyprus (Ireland), and a glorious peace established in the nation. But what is more remarkable is, that Coridon (Tyrconnell) and his freinds lived at this rate when the soldiers of the army wanted bread, the common sort of people ready to starve, and indeed the whole nation reduced under the greatest hardships that mortals could suffer.

Never was the arrival of man more passionately longed for in this world than that of Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) by the gene-

rality of the Cyprians (Irish); but he staid so long that the most confident began to stagger. In this general affliction, and the greatest consternation imaginable, it was amazing to behold the countenance of the Coridonists (Tyrconnellites), who seemed to kindle fires of joy in their hearts, when the whole nation was almost reduced to the last despair; for they did not doubt but that now their long-wished for project would be happily compassed without blemish to Amasis (James), or any blame to Coridon (Tyrconnell), because hunger must at last constrain the obstinate Cyprians (Irish) to hearken to the treaty so often proposed, and the loss of the country would be justly imputed to Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.) neglecting to send timely releif to starving people. But when all men were despairing in good earnest, the Syrian (French) fleet appeared upon the coast, and on the 9th day of the third month (May, O. S.) Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), accompanied with Terrassus (the Chevalier Taaff) and Dusones (M. de Suson), two lieutenant-generals, and two of the agents, arrived at Paphos (Limerick). Upon the first appearance of the Syrian (French) fleet, Coridon (Tyrconnell) was observed to be much out of countenance; but finding by the king's letters, and by private intelligence from his friends at court, that the commission of Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) did not empower him to command the army independent of the viceroy; that he brought no money, and no more arms than Coridon (Tyrconnell) himself called for, tho' a far greater quantity of provisions, he began to take heart again, and resolved to appear in person at the head of the army. To enable the troops to take the field out of hand, he issues an order for the levying of ten talents in silver, in order to buy flesh meat for the soldiers; Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) having brought a vast quantity of corn and meal to supply them with bread. This money was to be raised in the province of Paphia (Connaught), and the other districts which acknowledged the authority of Amasis (James); tho' it was not unknown to Coridon (Tyrconnell) that one half of that money could not be had in all that part of the kingdom, now that the brass coin was recalled; but that the country might furnish the army with beeves enough, to buy which the levy was pretended, without giving such a publick evidence to the world that Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) brought no money out of Syria (France). The well afected Cyprians (Irish) were not ignorant of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) design by this project, which could be no other but to make the nation sensible that the great Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), after so many assurances of royal soccour, sent them now a captain without money, which all mankind knows to be the true sinews of war. He further expected, and he had no less than reason, that it would altogether discourage the foreigners in Theodore's (King William's) army to desert to that of Amasis (James), where no pay was to be had; and those ends which he proposed by the boasted levy being once obtained, (for the nation was now satisfied, and the ennemy knew full well that Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) brought no money,) he declined calling for what he was sensible could not be got, and accepted of 10,000 beefs which the country freely offered. But the greatest obstacle that could be given to Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), in his design, was the want of boats to carry his provisions upon the river Lycus (Shannon) from Paphos (Limerick) to Arsinoe (Athlone), where the army was to rendevouz. These boats should have been prepared the winter and spring before, when Coridon (Tyrconnell) was revelling away the time between Paphos (Limerick) and Cithera (Galway), and this wilfull neglect occasioned the loss of Cyprus (Ireland); for having but six boats in all, what they carried in one load was consumed by the garrison of Arsinoe (Athlone), and the neighbouring troops, before the second load could arrive. This disappointment gave no small affliction to Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), who rested neither

night nor day, but galloped between Paphos (Limerick), Arsinoe (Athlone), and Teretum (Mullingar), ordering the country horses, and the spare horses of the cavalry, to be employed in carrying the provisions; and yet, notwithstanding all his pains, it was the 20th day of the fourth month (June O. S.), and the forty-second after his landing in Cyprus (Ireland), before he could conveniently bring a considerable body of men together. This delay of the Cyprian (Irish) army gave a further opportunity to Ororius (Baron Ginkell), general of Theodore's (King William's) forces in Cyprus (Ireland), to gather his troops, who were dispersed in the provinces of Lapitha (Ulster), Salaminia (Leinster), and Amathusia (Munster), and begin the campaign with the attack of Morinum (Ballimore), which he took without opposition on the 8th day of the fourth month (June O. S.), the governour and garrison being made prisoners of war. This fort, in the province of Salaminia (Leinster), ten miles distant from Arsinoe (Athlone), and as many from Teretum (Mullingar), was lately built by Lysander's (Sarsfield's) orders to cover both places, and afford the Cyprians (Irish) a conveniency of making incursions from thence into Salaminia (Leinster). Orrorius (Baron Ginkell) arriving the 19th day at Arsinoe (Athlone), and having battered with his rams and other engines the walls of the town on Salaminia (Leinster) side the river, he took it by assault on the 20th, whereof the news came overnight to Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth), who lay at Cretium (Ballinasloe), twelve miles from Arsinoe (Athlone), whither he marched next day with 1,500 horse and foot, pitching his camp within 20 furlongs of the place.

It was greatly wondered by some that Coridon (Tyrconnell), who was not ignorant how ungrateful his presence must have been to the major part of the army, should presume to appear in the camp; and on the other side it was no less admired by a great many, who were not fully acquainted with the transactions in

Syria (France), how Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) could endure it. But the truth is, Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) did not imagine that Coridon (Tyrconnell), who was to content himself solely with the management of civil affairs, would intermeddle with the military government. Amasis (James) having assured him that he would write to Coridon (Tyrconnell) to that purpose; tho' it was not fit, as he said, to insert any thing in the commission then given to Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) that might seem to affront the King in the person of the Viceroy. But either Coridon (Tyrconnell) received no such orders, or, if he did, he concealed it; for he and his creatures confidently averred, that Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) was to command the army under the Viceroy; and to demonstrate the same to all people, as also to confirm his faction among the soldiers, who otherwise would be altogether disheartned by Lysander's (Sarsfield) more numerous party, it was resolved, in a private consult of his own freinds, that he should come and head the army in person. By these unexpected proceedings Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) found to his regret, tho' somewhat of the latest, that he was more credulous than wary in his transactions with Amasis (James). But his ardent zeal for the true worship of the immortal gods, together with the regard he had for the interest of the King his master, and the commiseration imprinted in his generous soul for the afflicted Cyprians (Irish), made him lay aside all other considerations, and suppress the resentments he might justly conceive for particular affronts, preferring the publick good, and the attaining these happy ends he proposed to himself, before any private advantage of his own, with an unalterable resolution, to endure any thing rather than abandon the glorious cause he took in hand. But Lysander (Sarsfield) and his freinds were so incensed at the confidence of Coridon (Tyrconnell) to appear in the army, that they joined in a remonstrance protesting against him, which all

the tribunes to a very few confirmed with their signatures; tho' Coridon (*Tyrconnell*) was not idle on his side, but employed emissaries abroad to make a party for himself.

The Castle of Arsinoe (Athlone) is seated in the province of Paphia (Connaught), and near the center of the kingdom, on the right hand of the River Lycus (Shannon). The town on Salaminia (the Leinster) side was better built than that in Paphia (Connaught); but the garrison burned it in the fifth month (July O. S.) of the third year (1690) when Lysippus (Lt.-Gen. Douglas) came to attack the place. Both towns communicate by means of a stone bridge near the castle, on the south side of which the river is fordable for 2 or 3 furlongs. A trench was indeed lately made there on Paphia (the Connaught) side the river to hinder any attempt that way; but it was not fully compleated when Ororius (Baron Ginkell) possessed himself of the Salaminian (Leinster) town and bank, where he raised several batteries, and planting his rams, and other terrible new invented engines, he furiously battered the castle and the trench along the river side, never ceasing night or day till he reduced the Paphian (Connaught) town to ashes, and levelled both castle and trench with the ground. Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) releived the place constantly from the camp with 3 or 4 legions commanded by a general officer, the cavalry being ordered every day to bring in faggots to make up the breaches. But because the several attempts made by the Cilician (English) army to force a passage over the bridge and ford were always rendered ineffectual by the gallant resistance of the legions sent daily from the camp to defend the place, Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) and his Syrian (French) captains believed that the design of Ororius (Ginkell) to pass the river there would prove vain, if not impossible; and it was this overmuch confidence that made him delay the timely demolishing the rampart on Paphia (the Connaught) side the town, whereby those of the camp might march in a body to Arsinoe

(Athlone) to support the troops guarding the passage. But when he perceived that Ororius (Ginkell) was obstinately fixed upon that place, he ordered at last that the rampart should be pulled down; and this order, given on the 29th day in the evening, being unfortunately neglected by Dusones (M. de Susan), who had it in charge, was the woefull occasion of that unexpected misfortune which happened next day; for Ororis (Ginkell) having on the 30th day of the fourth month (June O. S.) detached 8,000 men of the best troops in his army to attack the ford, they passed the river and entered the town without any opposition, surprising the Cyprian (Irish) legions, who guarded the passage, by the neglect or treachery of Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell), who commanded that day in Arsinoe (Athlone); and they no sooner entered the place than, possessing themselves of the rampart which surrounded the Paphian (Connaught) town, they took up the draw bridge, which hindered any releif to come to Arsinoe (Athlone) out of the Cyprian (Irish) camp. Here fell renowned Osiris (Colonel Arthur McGuire), one of the cheif noblemen of Lapithia (Ulster) and a stout tribune. That the place was betrayed by Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell) may be easily conjectured by these convincing circumstances: 10.—One of his legion having swam over the Lycus (Shannon) that afternoon, no sooner came to Ororis (Ginkell) and delivered him a private message, than the party was immediately detached out to attack the river: 2°.-When the soldiers called out to Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell) for arrows he would give them none, but asked them whether they should shoot against the birds of the air: 30.—He ordered the men to lie down and take their rest, saying there would be no action till night; so that when the enemy entered, the soldiers for the most part were asleep, and few or none in their posts: 40.—When the first man of the enemy mounted the breach, he boldly asked him, Doe you know me? Whereupon he got quarter, and all the rest were put to the sword;

this it seems being the signal to distinguish the betrayer from the rest; and it is supposed that Ororis (Ginkell) commanded those who were upon the attack to use the officer well who should put that question. This Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell) was a Pamphilian (Scotchman) by birth, and as he pretended a Delphican (Roman Catholic); he was of mean extraction, and one of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) creatures, without whose countenance it is unlikely he durst venture playing such a prank in Cyprus (Ireland). Lysander (Sarsfield) accused him a few days before in the general's presence; and it is certain it was not prudently done, after giving him such a publick affront, to entrust him the command of a post of that importance. But it seems Coridon (Tyrconnell) would have it so; and Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) did not think fit to disoblige the viceroy.

This wonderfull success of Ororis (Ginkell) to force a passage over the Lycus (Shannon), even at Arsinoe (Athlone), and within sight of the Cyprian (Irish) camp, astonished all men, especially those who were not acquainted with the intrigue. It bred a general consternation all over Cyprus (Ireland), that a gate should be opened into Paphia (Connaught), which was the last refuge of the nation, and made the thinking men give all for lost; but none was more sensibly afflicted than brave Pyrrhus (St. Ruth), who owned that tho' he ordered the rampart to be demolished, he was, however, to blame to entrust it to another, saying he should see it done himself. If wee judge by outward demonstrations Coridon (Tyrconnell) was as much concerned as any other, and he had no less than reason; for this loss must be cheifly attributed, first to his neglect to make timely provision of boats and horses to carry thither the bread from Paphos (Limerick), which hindered Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) from being with the Cyprian (Irish) army at Salamis (Dublin), before the Cilicians (English) could gather to a head; for he arrived in Cyprus (Ireland) about the beginning of the third month (May O. S.), and the 4th began before Ororis (Ginkell) took the field. Secondly, had not Coridon (Tyrconnell) countenanced and supported Maxilles (Colonel Maxwell), 'tis likely this disaster had not happened so soon; but now that the job was done, he made the right use of that plausible pretext then seasonably offered, of the officers declaring against him, to quit the camp and return to Paphos (Limerick); having gained, however, a principal point before he went of, which was to get Dusones (M. de Susan) (one of the lieutenants come along with Pyrrhus (St. Ruth) out of Syria (France), but not so much a freind to him as to Coridon (Tyrconnell), to be sent to Cithera (Galway) to command there in cheif; for he could not endure to approve of the resolution formerly taken to send Leogines (O'Donnell) thither. This Leogines (O'Donnell) was the presumptive heir to the second Prince of Lapithia (Ulster), who in Queen Eleusina's (Elizabeth's) time quitting Cyprus (Ireland) retired into Egypt (Spain), where dying without any issue, his brother succeeded, who also dyed, leaving only one son, who was taken away in the flower of his youth; so that this Leogines (O'Donnell), being next of kin, went into Egypt (Spain), where he was received by that king and established in the dignity and employment formerly held there by his kinsman. He had served several years in the Egyptian (Spanish) war against Syria (France); and when he understood of Theodore's (King William's) invasion, and the retreat of Amasis (James) into Cyprus (Ireland), he earnestly solicited the Egyptian (Spanish) court for a permission to quit that service, in order to serve his own king and country; but not being able to obtain it, by reason that Amasis (James) and the Cyprians (Irish) were then strictly leagued with Antiochus (King Lewis XIV.), he left Egypt (Spain) without staying for a licence, which he well knew would not be granted, and arrived at Marium (Kinsale) much about the time that Amasis (James) came thither after the engagement on the

Lapithus (Boyne). The King recommending him to Coridon (Tyrconnell), he gave him the command of the new levies raised by the inhabitants of Lapithia (Ulster), then retired into Paphia (Connaught), but afforded him neither arms nor maintenance. And observing soon after that Leogines (O'Donnell) grew popular among the old Cyprians (Irish), and especially with the natives of Lapithia (Ulster) (who superstitiously beleived him to be the person meant by an old oracle, who was to deliver Cyprus (Ireland) from the Cilician (English) voke) he took from him some of the new legions whom he incorporated in the standing army, leaving him and the rest without any manner of subsistance but what they were forced to extort from the country. He also encouraged the nobles of Lapithia (Ulster), and even the tribunes of his own brigade to oppose him, in order to suppress his aspiring mind, and render him contemptible to the people. But his chief aim was to breed jealousies between him and Gordones (Lord Athenry) descended from the first prince of Lapithia (Ulster), for he apprehended, and perhaps with reason, that if the forces of Lapithia (Ulster), all composed of old Cyprians (Irish), were united together, they might easily obstruct his design to reduce Cyprus (Ireland) under the jurisdiction of Theodore (William), in order to preserve there the Cilician (English) interest, which was held so sacred, not only by the Cilicians (English), but even by some natives of Cyprus (Ireland), deriving their extraction from thence, of whom Coridon (Tyrconnell) was one, that they preferred it before the true worship of the immortal gods. Leogines (O'Donnell) was at that time posted with his new raised men at Manapolis () to defend the river Lycus (Shannon) on that side, and when Ororis (Baron Ginkell) forced a passage over at Arsinoe (Athlone) he had orders sent him in all hast to march streight to Cithera (Galway). But to satisfie Coridon (Tyrconnell), and those of his party, who loudly declared that to

entrust a person of his credit among the ancient Cyprians (Irish) with a place of that consequence was in effect to abrogate the royal authority in Cyprus (Ireland), the first orders were countermanded, and he was bid to disperse his men into several parts for the defence of the western posts of Paphia (Connaught).

Coridon (Tyrconnell), having gained this point, no sooner arrived at Paphos (Limerick) than he dispatched his secretary into Syria (France) with heavy complaints against Lysander (Sarsfield) and the factious tribunes of the army; criminating Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) himself as if he were ligued with Lysander (Sarsfield) and the old Cyprians (Irish) to the vast prejudice and perhaps total overthrow of the king's interest in that kingdom, if not opportunely prevented. In the mean time Pyrrhus (St. Ruth), who retired to Cretium (Ballinasloe), called a great council of his captains to consult how to dispose of the army, now that Arsinoe (Athlone) was lost, and the passage open for the enemy to advance into Paphia (Connaught). Some were of opinion to stay and maintain the ground wherein they were encamped; for, having the advantage of the river Slicus (Suck), which rising in a mountain towards the center of Paphia (Connaught). falls into the Lycus (Shannon) some 60 furlongs below Cretium (Ballinasloe), they might hinder Ororis (Baron Ginkell) from passing that river, which was the shortest way he could take to Cythera (Galway). Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) appeared much inclined to this opinion; being too sensible of the affront he received at Arsinoe (Athlone), and longing for an opportunity to wash away that stain by some notable action. But Lysander (Sarsfield) and most of the captains gravely represented that the army of Ororis (Baron Ginkell) was more numerous and much better disciplined, being composed for the most part of veteran troops, whom Theodore (King William) drew to his service, not only out of Armenia (Germany), Lydia (Denmark), Cappadosia

(Sweden), and Lycia (the Netherlands), but also a considerable party of Martinesians (Protestants) out of Syria (France), bred up in arms and inured to war; that to hazard a battle against them with the Cyprian (Irish) army, inferior in number and discipline, ill clad, and not well fed, having no pay, and much discouraged for the loss of Arsinoe (Athlone), was to endanger the whole kingdom; that it was more advisable to mann the cities of Cithera (Galway) and Paphos (Limerick) with most of the infantry, and crossing the Lycus (Shannon) with the rest, and with all the cavalry to march into the province of Amathusia (Munster) and Salaminia (Leinster); that if Ororis (Baron Ginkell) would beseige Cithera (Galway), it was likely that place, being well manned, would keep him long in play; whereby the Cyprians (Irish) might have time enough, after the taking and plundering of Salamis (Dublin), a rich city without any strength, to return to the releif of Cithera (Galway); that if Ororis (Baron Ginkell) would quit that design, and follow them, they might easily repass the Lycus (Shannon) by the conveniency of Paphos (Limerick), and so preserve the province of Paphia (Connaught) from being overrun for that season; and that when the soccours which they daily expected out of Syria (France) were arrived, they might then take other measures. This being the general opinion, and in all probability the most rational, Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) could not well oppose it; however, he stayed for some days encamped there, observing the enemies' motions, riding continually to take cognizance of the ground thereabout, and coming to Acra (Aghrim), some 60 furlongs from the place where he then encamped, he liked the situation so well, that he removed his army thither, pitching his camp on the hill of Acra (Aghrim), and, judging that post to be very advantagious, he resolved, contrary to the former determination, to stay there and fight Ororis (Baron Ginkell).

Acra (Aghrim) was then a ruined town, and the castle was not

much better, situated on a bottom on the north side of the hill, where the Cyprian (Irish) army encamped. The direct way from Cretium (Ballinasloe) was close by the castle, but there was another way about on the south-east side of the hill; the rest of the ground fronting the camp was a marsh passible only for foot. The army of Ororis (Baron Ginkell) appeared in sight of Acra (Aghrim) on the 12th day of the 5th month (July O. S.) Cyprian (Irish) army, composed of about 10,000 foot, 2,000 men at arms, and as many light horse, were soon drawn up by Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth) in two lines; the cavalry on both wings flanking the foot, and having placed Terassus (Chevalier Taaff) on the right wing of the horse, and Lysander (Sarsfield) on the left, and given their several posts to the rest of the chief commanders, he obliged himself to no certain place, but rid constantly from one side to another to give the necessary orders where he saw occasion. Ororis (Baron Ginkell) being now come up to so near a distance that his rams and other battering engines might doe execution, he ordered them to be discharged. And as he had a vast number of them he made them play incessantly upon the Cyprian (Irish) army, hoping by that means to force them from the hill, which was of great advantage. But the Cyprians (Irish), encouraged by the presence and conduct of Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth), kept their ground, and beat the Cilicians (English) as often as they advanced towards them. The fight continued from noon till sunset, the Cyprian (Irish) foot having still the better of the enemy; and Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth) observing the advantage of his side, and that the enemies' foot were much disordered, he was resolved, by advancing with the cavalry, to make the victory compleat, when an unlucky shot from one of the terrible new engines, hitting him in the head, made an end of his life, and took away the courage of his army. For Ororis (Baron Ginkell) observing the Cyprians (Irish) to be in some disorder, gave a notable conjecture that the CAMD. SOC. 19.

general was either killed or wounded, whereupon he commanded his army to advance. The Cyprian (Irish) cavalry, discouraged by the death of Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth), and none of the general officers coming to head them in his place, they gave back and quitted the field; the foot who were engaged with the enemy, knowing nothing of the general's death or the retreat of their cavalry, continued fighting till they were surrounded by the whole Cilician (English) army; so that most of them were cut of, and no quarter given but to a very few; the rest by the favour of the night then approaching (for Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth) was killed about sunset) made their escape. In this battle Ulisses, Lord of Cithera (Lord Galway*), a most hopefull youth, son to the first peer of Paphia (Connaught), Maguris (Colonel M'Guire), and Morus (Colonel Charles Moore), the chief men of two illustrious families in Lapithia '(Ulster) and Salaminia (Leinster).), grand child of Totilas (Fortunatus (Conaldus (Brigadier Connel), all stout tribunes, with many more brave heroes, gloriously fell with arms in hand, fighting to the last breath for the antient faith and the liberty of Cyprus (Ireland). Gordonos (Lord Athenry?) was mortally wounded and left for dead in the field; but, being happily known by some Pamphilian (Scotish) officers of his relations (for his mother was daughter to one of the chief peers of Pamphilia (Scotland)), he was carefully attended by them, untill the gods were pleased to restore him to life and health; and being by treaty of Paphos (Limerick) released from his imprisonment, he followed Amasis (King James) into Syria (France).

Such was the issue of that famous engagement of Acra (Aghrim), so glorious to Ororis (Baron Ginkell), and so fatal to Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth) and the Cyprians (Irish), who lost there the

^{*} Son of the Earl of Clanrickard.

flower of their army and nation. The sensible regret of this publick desaster, and the dreadfull prospect of the unavoidable consequences of such a defeat, filled all Cyprus (Ireland) with grief and despair. And tho' every man's particular loss seemed to exhaust their whole stock of tears, yet none was more generally lamented than brave Pyrrhus (Mons. de St. Ruth); for, in the opinion of all people, if he had lived but an hour longer, the Cyprians (Irish) would be victorious that day; and in case he were worsted, had he outlived the defeat, no man would despair, but he would soon retreive it. Never was general better beloved by any army, and no captain was ever more fond of his soldiers than he. It is admirable how such a strong sympathy could be produced in so short a time; for that was but the one-and-twentyeth day since he first headed the army. But his innate courage, and the affability of his temper, and, above all, his ardent zeal for the Delphican (Roman Catholic) cause, gained him of a sudden the hearts of all Cyprus (Ireland). And on the other side he was no less affectionately inclined towards the nation, admiring the constancy of their resolution to maintain a war upon such unequal terms, having so formidable a power against them, and without receiving any considerable aids out of Syria (France). So that with Pyrrhus (M. de St. Ruth) died all the good fortune and hope of Cyprus (Ireland); for from that hour they never thrived, nor even attempted any thing that was great and glorious.

After this notable victory at Acra (Aghrim) Ororis (Baron Ginkell) only wanted the reduction of Paphos (Limerick) and Cithera (Galway) to compleat the conquest of the whole kingdom. Cithera (Galway) is the head city of Paphia (Connaught), not much above a day's journey from Acra (Aghrim). It is built upon a neck of land between the sea and the river Citha (Galway), which comes out of a great lake rising from high mountains in the west of Paphia (Connaught), 24 miles from Cithera (Galway),

and separating that part of the country from the rest of the province. As there is no passage thither but by boats over the lake, or across the stone bridge at Cithera (Galway), the town, which has the sea on the south, the river Citha (Galway) and the lake on the west and north, lies exposed to an attack only on the east side, where Ororis (Baron Ginkell) encamped on the 19th day of the 5th month (July O. S.); and that night he gained an outwork on the hill very near the walls by the treachery of an officer who deserted from thence to the ennemy. Cithera (Galway) was not well manned at that time, by reason that the resolution once taken to divide most of the foot between that place and Paphos (Limerick) was altered, and that since the battle none got thither but a few Paphian (Connaught) soldiers, who escaped from Acra (Aghrim) to the number of six or seven hundred men. Indeed, after the defeat of the army, Leogines (O'Donnell) was ordered to march streight to Cithera (Galway) with what men he could gather together (his brigade, to please Coridon (Tyrconnell), being formerly dispersed between several posts, and at a great distance), but he was prevented by the enemy, who next day after their arrival before Cithera (Galway) crossed the river in boats, and planting their bridge without any opposition, passed over a part of the army into the Western Paphia (Connaught), beseiged the town on that side, and thereby hindered Leogines (O'Donnell) from entering into it that way, as he designed; for he could not pretend to doe it any other way, as he had no conveniency to releive it by sea. The town of Cithera (Galway) did not only want men for its defence, but was also destitute of warlike engines. which are requisite in a beseiged place; yet the greatest want of all was of resolution and union; for, had the townsmen been united and resolute, they were numerous enough, with the assistance of the garrison, to defend the town, and thereby give the Cyprian (Irish) army time to recruit and put themselves in a posture to releive the city; and tho' they should fail in that design, the Citherists (Galwaymen), however, could not fail getting as good conditions the last day as they got at first, and much more to their credit. But they were divided into factions, and the most prevalent at that time was the New Interest men, who longed for a change of government to restablish the Attilan (Cromwellian) settlement confirmed by Pythagoras (Charles), but reversed by Amasis (James). They concealed their arms, and would not lend them to the soldiers who wanted them; much less would they make use of any themselves to defend their country. In the mean time one of the civil officers, the son of a Cilician (an Englishman), professing the Martinesian (Protestant) doctrine, made his escape to the camp of Ororis (Baron Ginkell), by the contrivance, as it was then beleived, of the first civil magistrate, who was secured upon it, and likely would suffer, had not the ennemy come so suddenly to attack the town. This spy gave Ororis (Baron Ginhell) an exact account of all things; how the work on the hill was not fully finished; the town ill manned and ill furnished, with other necessaries; the citizens weary for the most part of the present government, and longing to be under the command and jurisdiction of Prince Theodore (King William): he added, if the place were once surrounded before the arrival of Leogines (O'Donnell), who was sent for in all hast, they could not hold out long without the assistance of the townsmen, who, as he assured, would give none. Upon this information, which Ororis (Baron Ginkell) received at Acra (Aghrim) three days after the battle, he advanced streight to Cithera (Galway). Dusones (M. de Suson), who commanded in chief, was a great friend of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's), and the governour was his nephew; which occasioned a report among the people that they did not much dislike the townsmen's inclination to treat with Ororis (Baron Ginkell); nor is it improbable that those who were for a treaty and

submission to Theodore (King William) were the more encouraged to propose it, because they knew very well that their acting after that manner would be countenanced by Coridon (Turconnell), and perhaps no way displeasing to Amasis (King James) himself; and it seems they had some grounds to think so; for Amasis (King James) wrote afterwards to Dusones (M. de Suson), giving him thanks for his moderation at Cithera (Galway), and for his early surrender of the place before the garrison or inhabitants should be reduced to any hardships. It is certain that the same day the Cilicians (English) passed the river, which was the next day after they appeared before the town, those of Cithera (Galway) beat a parly and began to capitulate. The treaty held for six days, tho' the articles for the surrender of Cithera (Galway) were concluded the second day; but they expected Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) result upon the propositions made by Ororis (Baron Ginkell) for a general capitulation, which was brought to Paphos (Limerick) by the governour's brother-in-law, who, as some people averred, after delivering his message there, endeavoured to perswade his friends in the army to accept of the advantagious offers made by Ororis (Baron Ginkell), which lost him the freindship of Lysander (Sarsfield) and the esteem of those who resolved to continue the war and to hearken to no conditions. By the capitulation of Cithera (Galway) all persons submitting to Theodore (King William) were to enjoy their estates as formerly in the reign of King Pythagoras (Charles) the Second; the officers and soldiers were at liberty to march to Paphos (Limerick), or join Theodore's (King William's) army, or return to their own homes. On the 26th day of the 5th month (July O. S.), and fifteen days after the battle, the garrison marched out of Cithera (Galway) and the Cilicians (English) entered the town. Some of the officers and a few soldiers joined with the enemy; others retired home; but the greatest number went with Dusones (M. de Suson)

and the governour to Paphos (Limerick), where they gave Coridon (Tyrconnell) an account of their proceedings, which he easily approved of.

The loss of Cithera (Galway), without any resistance, was seconded with the desertion of Leogines (O'Donnell), who being forced to make a large circuit round the lake, and to march through mountains almost impassible, was no sooner come within ten miles of Cithera (Galway) than he found that not only the town was beseiged on that side, but that the treaty of surrender was already concluded, which put him into no small perplexity. He had, it seems, a freind in the Cilician (English) camp, by whose procurement Ororis (Baron Ginkell) wrote him a letter importing his willingness to serve a person of his honour and worth, who behaved himself so well in the Egyptian (Spanish) service, and reminding him of the ill treatment he received since he came into Cyprus (Ireland), and the opportunity which now offered to be revenged of his ennemies and advance his own fortune. This letter being communicated by Leogines (O'Donnell) to the tribunes and chief officers of his party, who were generally ill armed and worse disciplined, it was resolved among them to continue that treaty untill they got out of the neighbourhood of Cithera (Galway), and then they might take what future measures they should think most convenient for their own advantage. It happened that Leogines (O'Donnell) had a Cilician (an English) gentleman in his service who came with him out of Egypt (Spain); and this Cilician (Englishman) had a brother a tribune, and in good esteem in Theodore's (King William's) army; he was sent to the Cilician (English) camp under a pretence of visiting his brother, but in reality to keep the treaty on foot. Leogines (O'Donnell), in the mean while, retiring with his forces out of the mountainous country, and finding by letters from Paphos (Limerick) that the loss of Cithera (Galway) was attributed to his delay to come timely

thither, and besides being too mindful of the affronts he received from Coridon (Tyrconnell), and his present wants rendering him desperate, he entertained the treaty in good earnest. But before it was perfectly concluded, he went to the releif of Cerbia (Sligo), a seaport town between Paphia (Connaught) and Lapithia (Ulster); which being blocked up by the ennemy and reduced to some hardships for want of provisions, they capitulated to surrender the place within 15 days, if they were not releived; but Leogines (O'Donnell) coming before that town, and being resolved to releive them, whatever they might doe, the governour and garrison declared they were releived, and consequently discharged of their former engagement, which forced the ennemy to retire back again into Lapithia (Ulster). Leogines (O'Donnell), by his trimming behaviour in this transaction, gave cause enough to suspect his fidelity, and apprehending a design of his own men to secure his person, he retired by night out of Cerbia (Sligo); and, notwithstanding all the demonstrations to the contrary made to him by a special freind, Philotas (Colonel Charles O'Kelly*) (whom he accidentally met on the road, and for whom he seemed to have a great esteem), he hastily concluded the treaty that very day, and thereby revolting from his natural Prince, he unhappily joined with the sworn enemies of his country.

The forcing of a passage over the river Lycus (Shannon) at Arsinoe (Athlone), the victory at Acra (Aghrim), and the taking of Cithera (Galway) without a stroke, which in the last war before held out for 19 months, as they made the name of Ororis (Baron Ginkell) worthily glorious among his own party, so did Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) seasonable tho' coactive retreat render him as great and as fortunate, in the opinion of his own freinds, who did not spare extolling above measure his wisdom, his con-

^{*} The writer.

duct, and, above all, his good fortune to have retired before such accumulated misfortunes happened to his country. After the battle he immediately dispatched an emissary to Amasis (King James), representing that all was lost, and that it was impossible to retreive Cyprus (Ireland) by any other means at present, but by an early submission to Theodore (King William). Dusones (Mon. de Suson), who longed to be back in Syria (France), and was a great confidant of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's), wrote much to the same effect to the Syrian (French) court. He was besides suspected by some not to be very zealous in the cause; being, as people said, but a late convert from the Martinesian (Protestant) sect to the worship of Delphos (Rome). But, be that as it will, Coridon (Tyrconnell), in the mean while continuing a private treaty with Ororis (Baron Ginkell), which he expected to conclude on the return of his courier out of Syria (France), kept in heart his party, who longed for an end of the war, and reposed all their hope and trust in his management. But he failed their expectation; for, having on the eleventh day of the 6th month (August O. S.) dined with Dusones (M. de Suson), with whom he was very merry and jocose, he retired in the afternoon to his chamber, where he was suddenly seized with a terrible fit of an apoplexy, which took away his speech and feeling, and dyed on the 14th day. His death was much lamented by his freinds, and no less by the Cilicians (English), who cryed him up for an honest man and a lover of peace. They gave out that he was poisoned by Lysander (Sarsfield) and the Syrian (French) commanders. He was the eight son of a private gentleman who made his fortune by practising the law; about the 18th year of his age he followed the war in the reign of Pythagoras (Charles) the First, and in some years after he was made standard bearer to his own nephew, an eminent commander of the Cyprian (Irish) army. When Attilas (Oliver Cromwell) conquered Cyprus (Ireland) he went with the rest into CAMD. SOC. 19.

Egypt (Spain), and from thence to Lycia (the Netherlands), where by means of his brother, a religious man, and afterwards Flamin (Archbishop) of Salamis (Dublin), he was presented to Amasis (King James), who received him into his service, and made him one of his bedchamber. When the royal family was restored he lived with his master at court, and by his favour and his own industry he acquired a considerable estate in Cyprus (Ireland). soon as Amasis (King James) came to succeed his brother Pythagoras (Charles) in the throne, he made him a peer of Cyprus (Ireland) and Lieutenant General of the army there, which was at that time composed of Martinesians (Protestants); but Coridon (Tyrconnell) shifted them by degrees, placing Cyprian (Irish) officers and soldiers in their place, whereby he became the darling of the nation. In a little time after he was made Viceroy of Cyprus (Ireland), and then he began to change his principles, and was observed to be less kind to his countrymen, whom no man undervalued more, once he had got all the power into his own hands. This change was partly attributed to the avarice of his wife, a Cilician (Englishwoman) by birth, and partly to the advice of those whom he cheifly consulted in the management of publick affairs, and who were unhappily concerned in the new interest. After Theodore's (King William's) invasion, when Amasis (King James) came into Cyprus (Ireland) he made him Captain General of the Cyprians (Irish), advanced him to the highest dignities that a subject could be capable of, and gave him a vast estate fit for a Prince. After the battle of Lapithus (the Boyne) he longed for nothing more than the laying down of arms, which he held necessary for preserving the Cilician (English) interest in Cyprus (Ireland); and upon that account he certainly was no freind to the ancient Cyprians (Irish). He was a man of stately presence, bold and resolute, of greater courage than conduct, naturally proud and passionate, of moderate parts, but of an unbounded ambition. In his private freindships he was observed to be inconstant, and (as some did not spare to accuse him) even to those by whose assistance he gained his point, when he once obtained his own ends.

The design of submitting to Theodore (King William) did not dye with Coridon (Tyrconnell), but was eagerly pursued after his death; for the gownmen he brought with him out of Syria (France) succeeding in the government by a particular commission from Amasis (King James), and as it was generally believed they were to follow Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) method, his freinds and creatures, who were numerous in the camp and city, did importunately press for a conclusion of the treaty begun by Coridon (Tyrconnell), and with the order and approbation (as they gave out) of Amasis (King James) himself. As for the Syrian (French) Lieutenant General Dusones (M. de Suson), he longed to be in his own country; and his collegue Terassus (the Chevalier Taaff), tho' brave in his person, and honest in his principles, yet acted nothing but by the approbation of Dusones (M. de Suson), who was the first Lieutenant General of the army. Scylla (Colonel Sheldon) and Gildas (Lord Galway) were true Coridonists (Tyrconnellists), so that Dorillas (Colonel Vaughop), a Pamphilian (Scotchman) by birth, but zealous enough for the worship of Delphos (Rome), and seemingly then no less zealous for the Cyprian (Irish) interest, was the only general officer Lysander (Sarsfield) had to rely upon. 'Tis beleived these two wrote more comfortably into Syria (France) than was suggested by the Viceroy, and that they engaged to hold out to the last extremity in hopes of a powerful releif from thence of men, money, and other necessarys to prosecute the war, which if timely sent had certainly preserved Cyprus (Ireland), and hindered such a powerfull reinforcement to join the confederate army against Syria (France). Ororis (Baron Ginkell), on the other side, applied all his thoughts

to compleat the conquest of Cyprus (Ireland), and perhaps he was not altogether without hopes but that the assistance of the Coridonists (Tyrconnellist) might render it more easy; for he was no stranger to the several factions and dispositions of the Cyprian (Irish) army, which being pretty well recruited by that time (having destroyed all the forrage on Amathusia (Munster) side, the town upon Ororis's (Baron Ginkell's) approach retired with their forces into the city, where they kept most of the infantry, posting the rest on the fords of the river Lycus (Shannon), and the cavalry on Paphia (Connaught) side, at so near a distance that they might be daily furnished from the town with provisions, whereof there was a vast quantity still left. The intention of Ororis (Baron Ginkell) was to batter and destroy the houses of Paphos (Limerick) and make the whole city a heap of rubbish; he also proposed by his proximity to countenance the Coridonists (Tyrconnellists), and perhaps enable them to act something that might compell the rest of their headstrong countrymen to lay down their arms. And it seems he was not mistaken in his measures. He appeared before Paphos (Limerick) on the 25th day of the 6th month (August O. S.), and pitching his camp on the same ground where Theodore (King William) pitched his the year before, he placed his rams and other battering engines, which played furiously night and day without intermission, reducing that famous city almost to ashes. No memorable action, however, happened till the night between the 15th and 16th day of the 7th month (September O. S.), when he made a bridge of boats over the river Lycus (Shannon), which being ready by break of day, he passed over with a considerable body of horse and foot on Paphia (Limerick) side without any opposition. This so alarmed Scylla (Colonel Sheldon), who commanded the cavalry at that time, that, without staying for orders, he immediately retired to a mountain a good distance from Paphos (Limerick), and marched with such precipitation and dis-

order, that if 100 of the ennemy's horse had charged him in the rear, they would in all likelyhood defeat his whole party, tho' he had near 4,000 men at arms and light horse; for the man, if he was faithfull, wanted either courage or conduct, and the party were altogether discouraged to be under his command. But Ororis (Baron Ginkell) did not advance far, and after shewing himself on that side of the bridge he returned back into his camp the same day. Yet Scylla (Colonel Sheldon) never rested till he came about midnight, 15 miles from the Lycus (Shannon), and encamped in a fallow field where there was not a bitt of grass to be had. As if he had designed to harass the horses by day and starve them there by night. Nor was it doubted if the city of Cithera (Galway), and other towns garrisoned by the enemy, had not lain in his way, that he would ever stop till he came to Cerbia (Sligo), which was 100 miles from Paphos (Limerick). This Scylla (Colonel Sheldon) was a Cilician (an Englishman) by birth, and of the worship of Delphos (Rome); he was brought into Cyprus (Ireland) by Coridon (Tyrconnell) in the first year of the reign of Amasis (King James), and by him made captain of a company of men at arms. He advanced him afterwards to be his under tribune to command his legion during his absence; and by his uncontrollable power with Amasis (King James) he procured for him a commission to be one of the general officers, tho' still a subtribune, and got his commission dated before that of Lysander (Sarsfield), which he designed to suppress. In fine, Scylla (Colonel Sheldon) was the person who, by Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) private orders, marched the horse into Paphia (Connaught) when Prince Theodore (King William) raised the seige from Paphos (Limerick), which rendered Lysander's (Sarsfield's) design to pursue the ennemy ineffectual. What project he might now have by so disorderly a retreat was not known by many, and perhaps he himself could not tell. Before day he had orders from Dusones

(M. de Suson) and Terassus (the Chevalier Taaff) to return to Paphos (Limerick), which he observed, and arrived there in the afternoon. They were encamped in a strong ground, the city on their right hand, and a strong pass on their left, and no horse could come to attack them any other way. In this situation they continued but three days, when they were fatally commanded to march into the country for the conveniency of forrage; whereas they had a sufficient quantity of oats within Paphos (Iimerick) to feed all their horses for two months to come, and the enemy could not keep the field for half that time. Before they marched from thence, Clytus (Colonel Robert Clifford), who commanded at the pass, where the enemy made their bridge and passed over the Lycus (Shannon), was examined before a council of war; there it was proved that the officers who went the round that night gave him notice at several times that the ennemy were working at the bridge, but he always told them that there was no such thing; so that the light horse who were posted near to sustain the infantry guarding that pass, had not time to bring home their horses next morning, or to save any part of their luggage: the alarm coming so hot and so sudden that it was well they saved themselves, and got of with their lives. Clytus (Colonel Robert Clifford) protested himself innocent as to any treachery. tho' he could not deny but he was guilty of an unpardonable neglect. This Clitus (Colonel Clifford) was a Cyprian (an Irishman) by birth (his grandfather being of a noble family in Cilicia (England), and came into Cyprus (Ireland) in Queen Eleusina's (Elizabeth's) days), and professed the doctrine of Delphos (Rome): he was vain and very airy, of shallow parts, and of no great conduct; and tho' it cannot be positively averred he was a trayter. vet it was not prudent in Lysander (Sarsfield) to entrust him with such a post, for he not only knew him to be a creature of Coridon's (Tyrconnell's), to be malcontent and very unfortunate in all

his undertakings, but he was also earnestly desired the very morning before that fatal night by a gentleman named Philotas (Colonel Charles O'Kelly*), for whose opinion he always seemed to have a great value, either to come in person from Paphos (Limerich) to command at those passes, or if he could not come himself to send Dorilas (Colonel Vaughop) thither, otherwise that the ennemy would come over and beseige the town on both sides. But it looked as if there had been some fatality in the matter.

On the 20th day, about noon, the horse decamped and stayed that day within 6 miles of Paphos (Limerick). Next day they marched ten miles farther, encamping behind a strong pass; but to their discouragement they were still commanded by Scylla (Colonel Sheldon), of whom they had no great hope. Dusones (M. de Suson), Terassus (the Chevalier Taaff), Lysander (Sarsfield), and Dorilas (Colonel Vaughop), all staying in Paphos (Limerick), notwithstanding all the demonstrations made to Lysander (Sarsfield) that it was now necessary either for him or Terassus (the Chevalier Taaff) to head the cavalry; but it was for that time left trusting to Scylla (Colonel Sheldon). Ororis (Baron Ginkell), understanding that the Cyprian (Irish) horse removed to such a distance, passed the river on the 23rd day with the greatest part of his cavalry, and a considerable body of foot, by the conveniency of Clitus's (Clifford's) bridge (for so it was called in the Cilician (English) camp). And having cut of the Cyprian (Irish) outguards, he encamped half way between Paphos (Limerick) and the Cyprian (Irish) horse camp, whereby he hindered all communication between them and the town. On the 24th the captains within Paphos (Limerick) sent out a trumpet desiring a parly with some of the general officers in the Cilician (English) camp, and, after a short conference between them, a cessation of arms

^{*} The writer.

was agreed to by both parties for three days, whereof Scylla (Colonel Sheldon) had notice given him that very day; and overnight he received half a dozen safe conducts signed by Ororis (Baron Ginkell); they came in blank to Scylla (Colonel Sheldon), and he filled them up with the names of the deputies, who next morning went to Paphos (Limerich).

The treaty began on the 26th day, and continued till the 3rd of the 8th month (October O. S.), and then it was concluded to the satisfaction of some, and to the sensible affliction of others. But what raised the astonishment of all people, and begat an admiration which seemed universal over all Cyprus (Ireland), was the sudden, unexpected, and prodigious change of Lysander (Sarsfield), who appeared now the most active of all the commanders to forward the treaty, and took the most pains to persuade the tribunes and centurions to a compliance, representing that there was but a small quantity of provisions left, and no expectation of any supply out of Syria (France) till next spring; that if they rejected the conditions now offered, they were to hope for none, when their provisions were all spent, and that, therefore, the necessity to capitulate at present was absolute and unavoidable. The authority of Lysander (Sarsfield), and the opinion which all the world conceived of his untainted loyalty and zeal for his country, expressed upon severall occasions, made them approve of whatever he proposed, tho' with a great deal of reluctancy, and with equal regret. And indeed in this particular instance wee may see the inconstancy of all worldly affairs, the uncertainty of our greatest hopes, and the folly of relying too much upon any human support; for Lysander (Sarsfield), in whom the Cyprish (Irish) nation reposed their greatest confidence, and who, as they beleived, would be the last man to hearken to a treaty, was now the most earnest to press it on; a mystery which requires some further time to unriddle. 'Tis true, it was moved by Lysander (Sarsfield),

and by the first Flamin (Bishop) of Paphia (Connaught), that Philotas (Colonel Charles O'Kelly*), who was then in the horse camp, and in whom the nation reposed great confidence, should be sent for and consulted with about managing the treaty; but it was answered by some, who had a mind to conclude it upon any terms, that if he came there would be no agreement; and for that reason he was not called upon, tho' Lysander (Sarsfield) assured the chief Flamin (Bishop) that nothing should be done but by the advice of Philotas (Colonel O'Kelly). The articles of the capitulation were not so warily drawn, but room was left for captious exceptions; neither was there any article made for assuring the true worship, or securing the Flamins (Priests); no condition had for prisoners, or the orphans of those who were slain in the service of their prince and the defence of their country. The officers and soldiers were at liberty to join with Theodore (King William), when they were fairly promised as good entertainment as the rest of his troops, or to be transported into Syria (France), where they were sure of a reception suitable to their merit.

And now, alas! the saddest day is come that ever appeared above the horizon of Cyprus (Ireland). The sun was darkned and covered over with a black cloud, as if unwilling to behold such a woefull spectacle; there needed no rain to bedew the earth, for the tears of the disconsolate Cyprians (Irish) did abundantly moisten their native soil, to which they were that day to bid the last farewell. Those who resolved to leave it never hoped to see it again; and those who made the unfortunate choice to continue therein could at the same time have nothing in prospect but contempt and poverty, chains and imprisonment, and, in a word, all the miseries that a conquered nation could naturally expect from the power and malice of implacable ennemies. Here might be

^{*} The writer.

seen the aged father, whom years and infirmities rendered unfit to travel, giving the last embraces to his only son; brothers parting in tears, and the dearest comrades forcibly divorced by a cruel destiny, which they could not avoid. But nothing was more dismal than the sad separation of man and wife; for tho' the husbands were assured not only of a conveniency to transport their wives and children, but also of a maintenance to be established for them in Syria (France), yet when the ablest men were once got on shipboard, the women and babes were left on the shore, exposed to hunger and cold, without any manner of provision, and without any shelter in that rigorous season but the canopy of heaven, and in such a miserable condition that it moved pity in some of their ennemies. The lamentable cries of this poor forlorn troop, when the fleet that carried away their fathers and husbands was under sail and gone out of sight, would beget compassion in wolves and tygers, and even in creatures that were insensible. Some of them had the whole length of Cyprus (Ireland) to traverse before they came to their former habitations, which were then possessed by the ennemy; they had neither victuals to eat nor money to buy them; and their plundered countrymen, among whom they were to travel, and from whom they might expect some relief, had not wherewithall to feed themselves.

This woefull revolution filled with greif and astonishment all the nations of Asia (Europe), who were equally concerned and surprised to behold the most warlike of nations (according to the testimony of one of their greatest adversaries), and a people heretofore undaunted in adversity, so shamefully to lay down their arms, and so freely undergoe that servile yoke which by former experiments they found unsupportable. But that the most zealous Delphicans (Roman Catholics) of the universe should conclude a peace with the sworn ennemies of the true worship, without conditions for their sacred Flamins (Priests), or obtaining any

security for their free exercise of the Divine ceremonies, is a mystery that surpasses the weak capacity of man to comprehend. What the reasons might be for these prodigious transactions, and what performance the conquered Cyprians (Irish), either living in a voluntary exile abroad, or in a forced bondage at home, have hitherto received, after so many large promises on both sides, must be the work of another time, and very likely of another pen; the publick calamity of my countrymen, of my unfortunate countrymen in general, and the lamentable condition of some particular freinds, added to the incommodities of old age, rendering me unable to pursue the remnant of a woefull history that requires ink mixed with the writer's tears; and the fountain of my weak eyes hath been drained up already by the too frequent remembrance of the slaughter at Acra (Aghrim), and of the sad separation at Paphos (Limerick).

END OF THE MANUSCRIPT.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

- P. 1, l. 2. The county of Clare, alias Thomond. Clare was anciently called Thomond or North Munster. In 1565 it was made a county, and added to the province of Connaught, but was restored to that of Munster in 1602.
- l. 6.—The first of November, 1641, newes was sent from Limrick. That is, eight days after the proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council, which is dated "At his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 23 October 1641."—On the 1st of November this important proclamation was also communicated to the parliament of England.
- —— l. 13.—The Earle of Thomond.—Sir Barnabas O'Brien, the sixth Earl and second son of the fourth, commonly called the great Earl of Thomond. He was member of Parliament for Coleraine in 1613, and took his seat in the House of Peers 19th March 1639. On the 15th March, 1640-1, he was made lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Clare. Soon after he repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, by whom in 1645 he was created, under writ of privy seal, Marquess of Billing, in the county of Northampton; but, the patent under the great seal never having passed, the title was not enjoyed by his posterity.

Ludlow, in his Memoirs (i. 21), mentions (1641) the capture of "Bonratte, the residence of the Earl of Thomond," by Lord Forbes, "where he found about three score horse fit for service. Major Adams," continues Ludlow, "was made governour of that house; but the enemy frequently resorting to a place called Six Mile Bridg,

about two or three miles from thence, the English pressed the Earl to assist them to fall upon the Irish; who, unwilling to oppose the English interest, and no less to make the rebels his enemies, endeavoured to excuse himself; yet, upon second thoughts, resolved to comply, if some care might be taken to spare his kindred. Whereupon some of the English officers proposing to him that his relations should distinguish themselves by some mark, and he concluding it to be in order to secure them to the English interest, chose rather to withdraw himself into England, and to leave his house to the souldiers, where (tho' he pretended he had no money to lend them to supply their wants) they found two thousand pounds buried in the walls, which they made use of for the paiment of their forces."

- P. 2, l. 15.—The Bishop of Killaloe. Lewis Jones, Dean of Cashell, who succeeded to the See of Killaloe in 1633, which he held till 1647.
- P. 5, l. 20.—The Barony of Buren. Ludlow in his Memoirs gives the following account of this district:—"After two days' march, without any thing remarkable but bad quarters, we entred into the Barony of Burren, of which it is said that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth enough to bury him; which last is so scarce that the inhabitants steal it from one another, and yet their cattle are very fat; for the grass growing in turfs of earth, of two or three foot square, that lie between the rocks, which are of limestone, is very sweet and nourishing." In an Irish manuscript, in the editor's library, he thinks a transcript of "the Annals of Innisfallen," Burren is poetically described as "Burren of the White rocks."
- P. 8, l. 22.—The Maire. This was Dominick Fanning, who became conspicuous in 1646 as leader of the mob in Limerick, which opposed the proclamation of the peace made by Ormond, assaulting the mayor, and Doctor Roberts, Ulster King of Arms. The result of which proceedings was, that Alderman Fanning became Mayor of

Limerick a second time in the room of John Bourke, who was displaced. FitzGerald and MacGregor, in their History of Limerick, state, that "from the multitude of stones thrown upon this occasion, the anniversary of the day (20th August) was for many years denominated in Limerick 'Stony Thursday."

- P. 9, marginal note (II.)—In all 31 Castels.—Dutton, in his Statistical Account of Clare, enumerates 118 castles in that county, of which "tradition says the family of Macnamara built 57." A very curious manuscript list of "castles in co. Clare" is in the editor's possession, in which 121 castles are named and 110 are figured, but Ballyally is unnoticed. This graphic catalogue was apparently made about the year 1806. Dutton (1808) says—"I understand a gentleman of the county intends shortly to favour the public with a history of them [the castles of Clare]. I wish him a good deliverance."—The editor believes that this passage alludes to the late Thomas Steele, Esq. of Cullane Castle, uncle of the present distinguished patriot of that name.
- 9, l. 24.—Christian Coule. In the original MS. it is doubtful whether this name may not be read also Coale; the MS. transcript is unquestionably Coule. It is certainly not Powel, as might be inferred from the following passage in "A reflection on the State of Ireland in 1641" (p. 86), which otherwise, with the exception of making the number of castles 32 instead of 31, fully corroborates the particulars mentioned. "To which I might add the siege of the castle of Limerick, Captain George Courtney, constable, from 15th January, 1641, to its surrender to the rebels the 23rd June, 1642, in which time many memorable accidents happened worthy the besieged. As of Bonratty, under the Earl of Thomond; Rossmanagher, possessed by Christian Powel; as of Cappagh, defended by Francis Moreton; as of Dromline, kept by Edward Fennor; as also of their taking of Clare Castle, Clonelowane, and 26 others in the county of Clare, whose names, with their governors, would be too tedious to relate."

- P. 9, l. 27.—Drummolan Castle, by Robert Starkey, Esq. The tradition of the O'Brien family accords with this statement. It, however, goes on to state, that Mr. Starkey selected for his confidential servant an Irishman, named Moran, who could speak English, by whom Drumoland was betrayed to Connor O'Brien and M'Inerhenny, the leaders of the Irish force. Moran having persuaded his master to go out and look at some cattle, Connor O'Brien, and his captain M'Inerhenny, knowing where the key was hid, got into the castle and surprised the ward. Starkey, when he heard two or three shots which were fired, suspecting his attendant Moran of treachery, attempted to shoot him, but he found his blunderbuss loaded with dust instead of gunpowder. Perceiving he was betrayed, Starkey sprung on the back of a black horse and made his escape.
- P. 14, l. 21.—Sir Danell O'Brien, Knight. Third and youngest son of the third Earl of Thomond. He represented the county of Clare in the Parliament of 1613, and living to see the restoration was created by Charles II. in 1662 Viscount Clare, in consideration of his own and children's services. This title was obtained for him by his grandson, who raised in the county of Clare two regiments of infantry and one of dragoons, distinguished in Irish tradition as "the dragoon bue" (yellow dragoons), for the service of James II. which he headed at the Boyne.
- —— 14, l. 26.—Coner O'Brien, of Lemenegh, Esq. Son of Sir Connor O'Brien. He "was appointed, 1641, to raise a troop of horse for the Lord Inchiquin, and to supply his room in defending the county of Clare. (See p. 10.) He married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Turlogh, or Teig-Roe MacMahon, Bart." (Archdall's Lodge, ii. 43.) Ludlow, in his Memoirs (i. 360), records the death of Connor O'Brien in the vicinity of the pass of Inchecrohgnan. "Being," he says, "come up to the place where the dispute was, I found Connor O'Brien, deputed by Lord Inchiquin to command in the county of Clare, had been shot from his horse and carried away by his party." At this time it appears the Parliamentary Army were encamped

before Limerick. Ludlow subsequently adds (i. 380), "Being in these parts we went to Lemmene, a house of that Connor O'Bryan whom we had killed near Inchecroghnan, and finding it indifferent strong, built with stone, and having a good wall about it, we put a garrison into it, and furnished it with all things necessary."

The family tradition respecting this occurrence is very singular, and generally correct so far as the editor has been able to test its truth. Ireton, it is said, unable to gain over Connor O'Brien to his side by negotiation, employed five of his best marksmen to shoot him. These men, disguised as sporting cavaliers, succeeded in surprising Connor O'Brien, and by one of them he was mortally wounded. They were immediately seized and hung upon two carts which were set up on end to form the gallows. The dying man was carried on horseback to Lemenegh, attended by a faithful servant, of whom Mrs. O'Brien demanded why he had dared to bring a dead man home to her? And calling her two sons Teigue and Donough, told them that with the life of their father their fortune was lost, unless both she and they immediately surrendered to the popular English party and obtained terms from Ireton. Upon the death of her husband, who survived only a short time, she ordered her carriage, and dressing herself in superb robes of blue and silver, travelled with six horses to Limerick, then in the possession of Ireton, where she arrived on the evening when a splendid entertainment was given in celebration of the surrender of the town. Mrs. O'Brien was stopped by a sentinel, who demanded her order for admission, and while an altercation took place on the subject, Ireton came up and inquired into the cause, and the name of the lady. "I was this morning," replied the heroine, "the wife of Connor O'Brien, but this evening I am his widow." Ireton, who had not heard of Connor O'Brien's death, nor of the fate of the marksmen, suspected some deceit, and asked how she could prove her words? "By bestowing my hand in marriage," she replied, "upon any of your officers." The offer was accepted, and the widow was married the same evening to Captain Henry Cooper.

Thus was the family estate preserved for her son Donough, who, after being bound by his mother apprentice to a coppersmith in London, is now remembered in local tradition as "the great Sir Donough." The sword which Connor O'Brien wore on the day he was wounded, the editor has been told, was in the possession of his descendant, the late Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart. of Dromoland.

P. 16, l. 10.—To goe on with his Sow. This military engine is particularly described, pp. 17, 18. Holinshed, who chronicles in 1337 the gallant conduct of "Blacke Agnes" of Dunbar in the defence of her castle, tells us that "one day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, under the pentise or covert whereof they might approch safelie to the wals. She beholding this engine, merilie said, that unlesse the Englishmen kept their sow the better, she would make hir to cast hir pigs; and so she after destroied it." A joke which has been echoed by subsequent writers. Dr. Ledwich, in his Chapter on the Military Antiquities of Ireland, says, that "the Earl of Essex,* in 1599, tells Queen Elizabeth that the Irish were unable to force any walled town, castle, or house of strength; but they used a military engine, called a sow, + which was used at the siege of Sligo, A. D. 1689, and is thus described:- 'It was made hollow to contain men, and was composed of very strong whole timbers bound with iron hoops, and covered with two rows of hides, and as many sheep skins, which rendered it proof against musket-ball or steel arrows. The back part was left open for the men to go in and out at pleasure, and in front were doors to be opened, when the sow was forced under the wall; which was done with little labour, the engine being fixt on an iron axle-tree.' 'The Irish,' says Stafford, t 'besieged Liskaghan Castle [county of Kerry] in 1600, and placed an engine, well known in this country, called a sow, to the walls thereof, to sap the same; but the defendants did so well acquit

^{*} Cox, i. 419.

⁺ Harris's Life of King William.

[†] Pacata Hib. 68.

themselves in a sally, that they tore the sow in pieces, made her cast her pigs, and slew twenty-seven of them dead in the place." Two machines, one called the boar and the other the sow, were employed by the Parliamentarians in the siege of Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire.

P. 17, l. 4.—There letheren great peece. In 1641 the Irish may be said to have known the effects of ordnance by little more than report. "In 1649 the artillery * taken by Jones, the Parliament's general, from the Earl of Ormond, were two whole cannon, three demy cannon, one long square gun, carrying a ball of twelve pounds, one saker drake, and one mortar piece, all of brass. In the last cited author we read of an army of 3,700 cavalry and 14,500 infantry, with but four pieces of ordnance. It is remarkable that in the demolition of our castles and forts, and in the improvement of their demesnes, very few iron bullets have been discovered, but much round stones with which they charged the cannon. Iron bullets were + unknown in England and France in 1514." Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland. Walker, in his Essay on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish, merely informs us that a cannon belonging to a vessel composing the Spanish Armada, wrecked on the coast of Ireland, which had been deposited in the fort at Kinsale, was preserved in the armory of the castle of Dublin, where it had been forwarded by Colonel Vallancey. "In the same repository," adds Walker, "is preserved the cannon which killed Saint Ruth; but, being covered with ammunition carriages, I could not obtain a drawing of it. It is, I am told, a long six pounder."

We read of Lord Broghill taking the Castle of Carrigadrohid, in the county of Cork (1649), by a very slight stratagem. "For the English got two or three team of oxen, and made them draw some pieces of great timber towards it, which the Irish, mistaking for cannon, presently began to parley, and surrendered upon articles."

^{*} Borlase, p. 121.

[†] Anderson, sup. V. 2, p. 38.

In 1690, Lord Galmoy, who commanded a party of King James's troops, sent a detachment of them to besiege Croom Castle, upon Lough Erne, about sixteen miles from Enniskillen. "His Lordship," says Hamilton in his 'True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskillen Men,' published in the same year, "thinking to frighten that garrison to a compliance with his demands, sent two canon made of tin, near a yard long in the chase, and about eight inches wide, strongly bound about with small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram, near the colour of a canon. These two mock canon he drew towards Crom, with eight horses a peece, making a great noise, as if they were drawn with much difficulty. As soon as they came before Crom, he threatned to batter the castle with those two great battering guns, and had the vanity to fire one of them, which burst, and had like (as 'twas said) to have spoiled the gunner."

P. 27, l. 14.—His extraction by the father of an ancient Cyprian (Irish) family, and by the mother of an old Cilician (English) race. The pedigree published in Keating's History of Ireland connects the O'Kelly family with the O'Neills; but the precise connexion of Colonel Charles O'Kelly is not stated. His father, however, is there said to be John, the son of Colla O'Kelly, and commonly called Colonel John Kelly, who was "very active and zealous in supporting King Charles the First's cause during the whole course of the war of Ireland, and hath such a distinguished character for his services from those two eminent royalists (the Marquisses of Ormond and Clanrickard) that he was restored by a particular clause in the Act of Settlement to all the estate which he either had in possession or reversion in the year 1641, which estate was accordingly enjoyed by him, and still remains in his family." He married the daughter of Sir William Hill, of Ulenstown, in the county of Meath.

P. 29, l. 4.—Stately Syrian (French) fleet. This armament consisted of thirty-seven men-of-war and thirteen attendant vessels, which carried 2,223 guns, and had on board 13,205 seamen.

P. 29, l. 11.—Met him near Amathus (Cork). James landed on the 12th March at Kinsale, and on the following day proceeded to Cork. Here he remained until the 20th, (according to the best documentary evidence which has come under the editor's observation,) at the house of Major-General MacCarthy, the Montocles of this MS. (in the South Main Street of that city, and pulled down about twelve or fourteen years since to make way for a fashionable arcade leading to the parade). On the 20th James proceeded to Lismore, in his progress towards Dublin. Tradition asserts, but within the editor's knowledge, the statement rests on nothing more, that Tyrconnell met the King at Barry's Court Castle, about ten miles north-east of Cork, where James created him a duke.

P. 30, l. 11.—The unjust decree of his brother Pythagoras (Charles). Commonly called "The Act of Settlement," &c. The bill for repealing which was brought up from the House of Commons to the Lords on the 22nd May 1690. In a "Journal of the Parliament of Ireland" the following note occurs:—"Observe, that nothing was done in the House for four days before, because the King waited for this bill from the Commons; and that the King sent frequently for it; the Black Rod having called to the House of Commons six or seven times this very day to send it up, the Lords' House and King spent the time in discourses and news."

"May 28. Several petitions read relating to the Act of Settlement; Bill of Repeal read the second time; the House adjourned during pleasure, and resolved into a grand Committee; the Bill of Repeal read by paragraphs; some objections made, which occasioned some alterations. Motion made for adjourning till Thursday, because Wednesday was a holiday. The King ask'd what holiday? Answered, The Restoration of his brother and himself, &c. He replied, The fitter to restore those loyal Catholick gentlemen that had suffered with him, and been kept unjustly out of their estates. The motion rejected."

. ___ l. 29.—For Cyprians (Ireland), read Cyprians (Irish).

P. 31, l. 7.—He would not admit the Delphican Flamins (Roman Catholic Bishops) to take their places in the assembly of the States, though he allowed it to four Martinesian Flamins (Protestant Bishops).

These were Dopping Bishop of Meath, Otway Bishop of Ossory, Wetenhall Bishop of Cork, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, and Digby Bishop of Limerick, afterwards Bishop of Elphin.

Extracts from a Journal of the Parliament in Ireland, &c.

- "March 25, 1689. A Proclamation issued out for a Parliament to be held in Dublin."
 - "May 7. No Popish Bishops summoned."
- "May 7. Parliament met in the Inns. Some Lords introduced; Bishops of Meath and Cork among the rest; the King enters with robes and crown; makes a speech," &c.
 - "May 8. Bishop of Ossory introduced."
 - "May 11. Bishop of Limerick introduced."

On the 5th of June these Prelates protested against "An Act repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation," &c. The Bishop of Meath was entrusted with the Archbishop of Armagh's proxy, and the Bishop of Ossory with that of the Bishop of Waterford.

— l. 17.—Montocles (Lord Mountcashell), better known as General MacCarthy. In the Journal of the Parliament of Ireland is noted "May 24, 1689, Col. Macarty, made Baron Mount Cassell, introduced."

P. 32, l. 8.—A strong castle. Croom.

- —— l. 11.—He retired into an advantagious ground. About half a mile from Newtown Butler. The ground is minutely described in "A True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling Men," by the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, 1690, pp. 40, 41.
 - l. 14. Antenor. Colonel Anthony Hamilton.
 - l. 16.—Shamefully ran away. At Lisnakea.
- —— l. 21.—Was taken prisoner. "Lieutenant General Mackarty, when his men were fled, he with about five or six officers went into a wood near the place where the cannon were planted, and some small

time after came out of the wood with those that were with him on horseback, and fired his pistol at the party that were guarding the cannon. Our men, when they came first from the wood, thought them some of our own party (supposing all the enemy fled, and never questioned them), till Mackarty fired his pistol; and then seven or eight of the souldiers fired their musqukets at him, shot his horse dead, and wounded him very ill in several places, and then, to put him out of pain, one of the soldiers club'd his musket to have knock'd out his brains, which one of those that came with him from the wood espying, called to the souldier to hold his hand, for it was their General MacCarty; at the hearing of which Captain Cooper came up and gave Lieutenant General MacCarty and those that were with him quarter, and that night carried him to Newton-Butler; and he being asked how he came so rashly to hazard his life, when he might have gone off with his horse when they made their escape? profess'd that he found now the kingdom like to be lost, his army being the best (for their number) that King James had, unless those before Derry, who were then much broken, and that he came with a design to lose his life, and was sorry that he miss'd of his end, being unwilling to outlive that day."-Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling Men.

P. 32, l. 22.—Where he lay long under cure. "King James sent Mr. Huben, one of his surgeons, to Inniskillen, to attend Lieut.-General MacCarthy, and likewise sent him some money to subsist him and the other officers who were taken prisoners, and sent him some hogsheads of wine, and other provisions that were fit for him, which he could not get at Inniskillen."—Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling Men.

1. 23.—He made his escape. "Near the same time (December 1689) Major General Mackarty made his escape from Inniskilling, where he had remained a prisoner ever since the rout at Croom Castle. Collonel Hambleton, Governour of the town, was tried by a court martial for it afterwards, but producing Major General Kirk's letter to him, wherein he desired that some further conveniencies might be allowed Mackarty than formerly; upon which it being done with

the Duke's consent, (who took Mackarty for a man of honour), the Governor was acquitted."—Story.

P. 32, l. 26.—Lysander (Sarsfield). Created Earl of Lucan by King James.

—— l. 28.—About Cerbia (Sligo). Sarsfield's camp was at Bondrows, or Brondrows, near Ballyshannon.

P. 33, l. 17 .- Lodron (Sunderland). Near Dundalk.

P. 34, l. 26.—The Castle of Soloe (Charlemont). The garrison marched out, on the 14th May, with their arms and baggage. It consisted of 800 men, with 200 women and children. Schomberg is said to have inquired of the Governor, Sir Teigue O'Regan, the reason why, when provisions were so scarce, so many women had been allowed in the garrison? Sir Teigue replied, that his men would never defend a post without them. The Duke's brief comment was, "There is more of love than policy in the matter."

P. 37, l. 29.—On the —— day of the fourth month (June). The blank in the manuscript may be supplied by "16th." "The Irish Journal," a contemporary newspaper published in Dublin, records—"On Monday the 16th King James marched out of this town to join them* with about 6,000 French foot, most old soldiers, excellently well armed and clad; one regiment of these are Dutch and Protestants, and are observed carefully for fear of deserting. The whole Irish army encamped will now make about 36,000, all well clad and in good heart, both horse and foot. There are 15,000 more in garrisons. Yesterday there marched in 6,000 of the county militia to garrison this town, and Colonels Luthrel and MacGillicuddy as his assistant are left Governors."

P. 40, l. 9.—Marium (Kinsale). This is an error in the manuscript; it should be Waterford.

^{*} The troops encamped at Atherdee, or Ardee, where James had ordered his army to rendezvous from several parts of the kingdom.

P. 40, l. 15 .- Ordered the officers there to disperse their men, and make the best conditions they could for themselves. "At five this morning, being Wednesday the 2nd of July, King James, having sent for the Irish Lord Mayor and some principal persons to the castle, told them that he found all things against them; that in England he had an army which would have fought, but they proved false and deserted him; that here he had an army which was loyal enough, but would not stand by him. He was now necessitated to provide for his safety, and that they should make the best terms for themselves that they could. He told his menial servants that he should have now no further occasion to keep such a court as he had done, and that, therefore, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves. He desired them all to be kind to the Protestants, and not to injure them or this city; for tho' he quitted it he did not quit his interest in it; and so, with two or three in company, he went to Bray, and along the sea to Waterford, having appointed his carriages to meet him another way. We hear he did not sleep till he got on ship-board; and, having been once driven in again, is since clear gone off."-Pp. 7, 8.

From "A true and perfect Journal of the affairs in Ireland since His Majesty's arrival in that Kingdom, by a person of Quality." London: Printed and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall. 1690.

Inish cavalry made along to Salamis (Dublin). "Near 10 that night (1st July) he (King James) came in (to Dublin) with about 200 horse, all in disorder. We concluded now that it was a total rout, and that the enemy were just ready to come into town, but were greatly surprised when an hour or two after we heard the whole body of the Irish horse coming in, in very good order, with kettle drums, hautboys, and trumpets, and early next morning the French and a great party of Irish foot. These being a little rested, marched out again to meet the enemy, which were supposed to draw nigh."—P. 7.

From "A true and perfect Journal of the affairs in Ireland," &c. London, 1690.

- P. 42, l. 32.—His wife a Cilician (English) Lady. Frances, eldest daughter and coheir to Richard Jennings of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford, Esq. and sister to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. She married, first, George Count Hamilton, son of the 4th Earl of Abercorn, by whom she had three daughters, married to Viscounts Ross, Dillon, and Kingsland; and, secondly, she married the Duke of Tyrconnell. She is the Miss Jennings so much extolled by Count Grammont in his Memoirs, and of whom a less amiable account is given by Lord Melfort, King James's Secretary. She returned to England in 1705, and retired to Dublin, where she founded a nunnery, and died on the 6th March, 1730, at the age, it is said, of 92. Lady Tyrconnell was buried in the Cathedral of St. Patrick.
- P. 44, l. 6.—Having slowly advanced to Salamis (Dublin). The battle of the Boyne was fought on Tuesday the 1st of July, and it was not until eight in the evening of Thursday the 3rd that an officer from William's army, dispatched to take charge of stores and escorted by a troop of dragoons, reached Dublin. "Next morning, being Friday, the Duke of Ormond came in with a party of horse; and the King being encamped by Finglas, came on Sunday to St. Patrick's Church, and heard a sermon preached by Dr. King, concerning the power of God; of which that which seemed to us greatest upon earth, mighty armies, was a faint shadow. The King went back to his camp to dinner, not suffering any soldiers to come into this town except a few for guard."

From "A true and perfect Journal of the affairs in Ireland," &c. p. 11. London, 1690.

- l. 11 and 21.—Palæa. Quere, Waterford?
- ___ l. 14.—Condone. Quere, Kilkenny?
 - ____ l. 23.—Runs up. Quere, runs down?
- P. 45, l. 1.—After ten days' vain attempt. This statement is slightly attenuated. Douglas appeared before Athlone on the 17th July with three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and ten of foot, twelve

field pieces, and two small mortars. "The Irish burnt and deserted that part of Athlone on Leinster side the bridge, called the English town. But seeing our [William's] party and our train not suitable to such an undertaking, and having three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons and two of horse in and about the town, with a fresh supply of forces not far off, they positively refused to deliver the place, which Lieut.-General Douglas seeing no hopes of forcing them to, on Friday the 25th, early in the morning, he raised his siege and marched to join the King's army again, having not lost above thirty men before the place, but near three hundred by sickness and other accidents."—Story.

P. 46, l. 17.—Began the fatal siege of Paphos (Limerick). "August the 8th, Lieutenant-General Douglas and his party from Athlone joined the King's army at Cariganlis. And on the 9th the whole army approached that strong hold of Limerick without any considerable loss, the greatest part of their army being encampt beyond the river in the county of Clare. His Majesty, as soon as his army was posted, sent a summons to the town, which was refused to be obeyed by Monsieur Boiseleau, the Duke of Berwick, Sarsfield, and some more, though a great part of their army were even then willing to capitulate. Next morning early the King sent a party of horse and foot under Major-General Ginckell and Major-General Kirk to pass the river, which they did near Sir Samuel Foxon's house, about two miles above the town."—Story.

P. 47, l. 6.—Lysander's (Sarsfield's) fortunate success. "The same day (10th August 1690) some deserters from the enemy gave his Majesty an account of their circumstances; and one of our own gunners did as much for us, who informed the enemy of our posture in the camp, as also of eight pieces of cannon, with ammunition, provisions, the tin boats, and several other necessaries then upon the road, which Sarsfield with a party of horse and dragoons had the luck to surprise two days after at a little old castle called Ballynedy, within

seven miles of our camp, killing about sixty of the soldiers and waggoners, and then marched off with little or no opposition, tho' his Majesty had given orders for a party of horse to go from the camp and meet the guns the night before."—Story.

A graphic, and at the same time correct, account of this dashing exploit, which has given Sarsfield his high popular reputation, may be found in FitzGerald's and MacGregor's History of Limerick, vol. ii. pp. 336—338. It is chronicled in the London Gazette, No. 2586, August 21—25, 1690.

P. 49, l. 27.—Other new invented engines. Hand grenades. In a free parody on Virgil, entitled "The Irish Hudibras," London 1689,* Nees (Æneas), the hero, asserts that if he had but one cow in the world—

"I'de give it fait, vid all my heart,
T''njoy my land, or any part,
My banniclabber † and pottados,
Without these French and Dutch granados."

P. 50, l. 5.—Never was a town better attacked and better defended than the city of Paphos (Limerick). This assertion is fully borne out by Story's account. William's acknowledged loss was two officers and eighty men in carrying an outwork, and in the attack on Limerick a week afterwards (27th August 1690) fifteen officers killed (besides the foreigners and those of the grenadiers) and about fifty officers wounded, with 500 men killed and nearly 1,000 wounded.

—— l. 21 and 29.—Palæa (Wexford). In line 21, Palæa certainly means Waterford, from whence William embarked on the 5th of September, arriving the next day at Bristol. It is remarkable that the writer of this generally correct MS. should have mistaken the place of embarkation both of James (see p. 40) and William, particularly as they made their exits from the same port.

^{*} See Sloane MSS. 900.

[†] Buttermilk.

P. 51, l. 5.—Men of New Interest. Many curious traditions are current in Ireland respecting the manner in which Elizabethan and Cromwellian grants have been obtained from their soldiers by the native Irish. An estate in the south of Ireland, at present worth a thousand a year, was risked by a trooper to whose lot it fell, upon the turn up of a card, and is now commonly called "the Trump Acres." And an adjoining estate of nearly the same value was sold by his comrade to the winner for "five jacobuses (five pounds) and a white horse." A singular story is also told of a considerable property having been purchased for a silver tobacco stopper and a broad sword.

____ l. 9.—A late decree of the States General. "An Act for repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and all grants,

patents, and certificates pursuant to them."

- l. 32.—The Viceroy's reasons for going off at such a juncture were variously reported. Story's version is as follows:-" On the sixth of September our (William's) army marched to Tipperary, about fourteen miles from Limerick, where they begun to disperse towards their respective quarters. And we had an account by some deserters that my Lord Tyrconnel and all the French forces were ship'd off at Galway for France. The reason of this was also inquired after by a great many, that the French should absolutely quit Ireland, at a time when we had raised our siege, which might have given them hopes of regaining the next year what they lost this; at least to defend the province of Connaught against us, and so protract the war beyond what they could have hoped for if the town had been taken; and that if the want of provisions was an objection, it was easier to carry those to the men than bring the men to their provisions. But the reason that I have heard given for their departure was, that the late King appearing very unexpectedly in France at a time when all people were overjoyed with the news of the battle of Flerus, won at land, and a victory also gained at sea; to palliate matters, therefore, as to himself, he laid all the blame upon the Irish, that they would not fight, but many of them laid down their arms in such order, as if they had been exercising; which indeed some of them did. Upon which the French King, concluding that all was lost in

that kingdom, he sent orders to Count Lauzun to make the best of a bad market, and so come off for France as well as he could with all his men. But the Irish, taking heart of grace at our fleets and the Dutch armies misfortunes, they held out beyond expectation; and those orders of the French King, not coming till after his Majesty had raised the siege of Limerick, Count Lauzun waited above twelve days for a countermand; but that not appearing he set sail for France, though he met with contrary orders at sea; but then it was too late. For his Majesty had been a fortnight at London before they heard at Paris that the siege of Limerick was raised, which shewed that whatever good intelligence they might have from England or Ireland at other times they wanted it now; but whether the wind was cross, or what else was the reason, I am uncertain."

P. 55, l. 30.—Antipater. Claude le Pelletier, who was Comptroller-General of the Finances and prime minister of France at this date.

P. 56, l. 3.—He owned himself a Cilician (an Englishman) by extraction.—Richard de Talbot accompanied Henry II. to Ireland, and in 1174 obtained a grant of Malahide. "Our author," observes the writer of "A Letter from a gentleman in Ireland to his friend in London, upon occassion of a pamphlet entitled A Vindication of the present Government of Ireland under his Excellency Richard Earl of Tyrconnel" (Dublin 1688), "has given very good reasons why the natives may be well content with their present Governour, but I cannot forbear laughing at those he has found out to satisfie the poor British with-my Lord Tyrconnel's most excellent, charitable, English lady. His high sounding name Talbot, in great letters: a name that no less frightens the poor English in Ireland than it once did the French; a name which, because he is in possession of, I will not dispute his title to, but I have been credibly informed that he has no relation to that most noble family of Shrewsbury (though my Lord Tyrconnel presumes to bear the same coat of arms); a name, in short, which I hope will prove in time, Vox et præterea nihil."

P. 56, l. 32.—The Castle of a Cilician (English) knight. Birr, where Sir Lawrence Parsons at an early period in the revolutionary struggle had collected and headed about 300 armed Protestants, who stood upon their defence. Story says, "About the fourteenth (September 1690) we heard that Sarsfield, with a part of the Irish army, had marched over the Shannon at Banoher Bridge, and besieged the Castle of Birr, wherein was only a company of Colonel Tiffen's foot, who stoutly defended the castle, the only tenable place; but, Major General Kirk marching thither with a part of our army, the enemy quitted the siege and marched off."

P. 57, l. 13.—He was uncle by the mother to Tiridates (the Duke of Berwick). James FitzJames, born in 1671, was the natural son of the Duke of York, by Arabella Churchill, sister to John Churchill, who became afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough.

— l. 21.—Which he took without much opposition. Dryden sneers at the feeble defence of Cork in his prologue to "The Mistakes;" a play written by Joseph Harris, comedian, 1690.

"Our young poet has brought out a piece of work
In which, tho' much of art there does not lurk,
It may hold out three days—and that's as long as Cork."

— l. 27.—Gracchus (the Duke of Grafton). He died at Cork on the 9th of October. (See London Gazette, 2604.) The shot which mortally wounded the Duke of Grafton is said to have been fired by a blacksmith from a forge in "Old Port Office Lane" (leading from the South Main Street to the Grand Parade). The place where he fell, which was then a marsh, is now built upon, and the street called Grafton's Alley, in memory of the event. His bowels are stated to have been buried at "Spring Garden," and his body carried to England. An equivocal epitaph on his Grace's death asserts—

"He ne'er would dread Shot made of lead, Or cannon ball Nothing at all, Yet a bullet of Cork
Soon did his work," &c.

P. 58, l. 12.—The new fort. About a mile east of the town, properly called "Charles' Fort," in compliment to Charles II. The first stone was laid in 1678, not 1670 as stated by Dr. Smith in his History of Cork. In an autograph letter of Lord Orrery's in the editor's possession, dated 9th April, 1678, which was preserved among the Southwell MSS. his Lordship says:—"This morning was the first stone of our new fort laid in mortar. My Lord Lieutenant did me the honour to appoint me to christen the fort, by that name I thought fittest, but I have begged him to send me the name and I will stand for him." In 1681, the Duke of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, visited Kinsale; and the London Gazette, No. 1651, records that, on the 25th August, being at the new fort, he began an health to His Majesty, when there was a discharge of all the artillery; and his Grace changed its name from Rincorran to Charles Fort; he then departed for Cork, "being extreamly well satisfied with the fort."

—— l. 13.—Valiently defended by Scotoris (Sir Edmund Scott). When summoned to surrender, his reply was, that "it would be time enough a month hence to talk of surrendering." The garrison of Charles Fort, when they capitulated, consisted of 1,200 men, who were provisioned for nearly twelve months. They were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to Limerick.

— l. 31.—Scitilla (———). Quere, Dorrington? In the Catalogue of the General Officers and others in King James's Army, taken out of the muster rolls, June 2nd, 1690, and printed by Story. "Thomas Maxwell."

"John Hambleton," are inserted as "Brigadeer Generals."

P. 62, l. 9.—For (the Duke of Brunswick), read (the Duke of Berwick).

P. 63, l. 25.—The Cyprian (Irish) Agents.—" Les Agens furent les Colonels Purcell, Baron de Luoghne (Loughmoe), Lutterel, et Macclesfield."—Histoire de L'Irlande par M. l'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan.

P. 68, l. 31.—Granted a subsidy of 200 talents. "A contribution of £20,000 per month for the space of three months, ending the last day of January last past," was ordered to be levied by James's proclamation, dated "at Dublin Castle, the 4th day of February, 1689."

P. 69, l. 5.—And the mint set to work in the sixth month (August O. S.) of the second year (1689). On the 18th of June a proclamation was issued for making shillings and sixpences of mixed metal. (Simon, App. No. 69.) And on the 27th of June half-crowns of the same metal were ordered to be struck—"a certain metal mixed with copper and brass."

—— l. 20.—Coridon's (Tyrconnell's) lady commonly giving double the quantity of brass for so much silver. "After the late King was obliged by his necessity to make brass money current in Ireland, it was at first pretended to pass only in payments between man and man in their daily commerce and dealings, and in publick payment of duties to the exchequer. But, soon after, the Irish beginning to consider that they were generally indebted to the English, and that this might be a fit season and a lucky opportunity to get their debts easily and cheaply discharged, a proclamation was published, enjoyning and requiring that copper and brass money should pass as current money within the realm of Ireland in the payment of bills, bonds, debts by record, mortgages, and all other payments whatsoever. By which knack many a poor Protestant was fob'd out of his right, and compell'd to take an heap of trash for his debt (as he was for his wheat and other commodities), to be precluded from any further satisfaction.

"And thus I have heard that Colonel Roger Moore was served (but I do not aver it upon my certain knowledge), who having an incumbrance of £3,000 upon the Lord Dillon's estate, who is married CAMD. SOC. 19.

to the daughter of the Lord or Lady Tyrconnel, she sent for him and told him, that, having some money at her command, and being very desirous to take off the burthen from her daughter's estate, she was content to pay him off in ready money, provided he would make some handsome abatement of the sum due. The gentleman being complaisant to the lady, and very willing to receive money in such a time of scarcity, freely consented to abate a thousand pounds, so the rest might be paid down at once. The lady seem'd very thankful, and appointed him to come next day, and to bring the deeds and obligations with him, and to receive his money. Accordingly he came, and, having given a legal release, the lady opened a door and shewed him a long table covered over with copper and brass, and tendered it for his payment, which whether he rejected in passion or hired a cart to carry it away I cannot tell; but this I can say, having an estate which was mortgaged to the old proprietor before 1641, to which, on payment of the mortgage money, he hoped to be restored by repealing the Acts of Settlement, he repaid to me, and desired me to appoint time and place for paying the mortgage money, of which I have taken time to consider. One of the most eminent silversmiths in Dublin having sold all his plate to a papist, who promised to pay him his price (agreed upon) in silver and gold; but no faith being to be kept with heretics, the goldsmith was compeld to take brass and copper."

An Account of the Transactions of the late King James in Ireland, &c. London. 1690, pp. 16, 17.

P. 71, l. 7.—Riverus (Lord Riverstan). Thomas Nugent, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was the second son of Richard second Earl of Westmeath, and was created by King James, in 1689, Baron Nugent of Riverston in Westmeath. He married Marian, the daughter of Henry second Viscount Kingsland; was outlawed for his adherence to the exiled monarch, and died in 1715.

—— l. 9.—His brother-in-law. Brigadier General Alexander MacDonnell, otherwise called MacGregor of Dromersnaw, in the county of Leitrim. He married Lady Jane Nugent in 1685.

P. 72, l. 17.—The ennemy was encouraged to attack the Lycus (Shannon) in the midst of winter. Under date December, 1690, Story records:—"We had now a part of our army on their march towards Lanesborough Pass, commanded by Major-General Kirk and Sir John Lanier. Lieutenant-General Douglas was also upon his march towards Sligo, as was Major-General Tetteau in Munster, towards the county of Kerry. The first detachment beat the Irish from their works on this side the river, and staying there some time returned to quarters, as did also Lieutenant-General Douglas."

_______l. 25.—Feretum. Lanesborough, in the county of Longford. _______l. 26.—Manapolis. Carrick-on-Shannon, in the county of Leitrim.

P. 73, l. 5.—Lycurgus (Dennis Daly). Justice of the Common Pleas. He was admitted to this situation on the 24th of April, 1686, by order of King James, without taking the oath of supremacy. He was impeached by James's Irish House of Commons for saying, in conversation, that he disapproved of their proceedings, and terming them "a kind of Massanello Assembly;" adding, with reference to the Bill for repealing the Acts of Settlement, &c. "that it could not be expected that men from whom the King took estates would fight for him." His acquittal was occasioned by the following occurrence, but he was ever afterwards regarded by the Irish with distrust :-"Tuesday the 4th instant (June 1689) we had an alarum that Derry was burnt with bombs; that the King's army had taken it, and put all in it to the sword; Nugent of Carlandstown brought this news into the House of Commons, just when they were putting to the vote whether they should prosecute the impeachment against Judge Dally; some think Nugent, being his friend, did it designedly. The news was received with loud huzzas, and in that good and jolly humour they acquitted the judge. But our Friday's express brought us another account."

____ l. 14.—Paphos (Limerick). Quere, Cithera, Galway? See subsequent note.

- P. 74, l. 10.—He brought with him no soldiers and few arms, little provision and no money. Story says, "Nigh this time (the middle of January 1691) several ships arrived at Gallway from France, and brought over my Lord Tyrconnel, Sir Richard Neagle, and Sir Stephen Rice, with about £8,000 in money, which was a great disappointment to the Irish, who had a small distribution by way of donative, but not as pay. There came also some soldiers' coats and caps, but such sorry ones that the Irish themselves could easily see in what esteem their master of France had them."
- P. 78, l. 14.—The Syrian (French) fleet appeared upon the coast. "May 8. The French convoy arrived at Linner Lake with provision, cloaths, and ammunition, but neither men nor money. The Sieur de St. Ruth, who is to command the rebels, and two French Lieutenant-Generals, came over in the same ships. And this was lookt upon like the pouring of brandy down the throat of a dying man."
 - An Exact Journal of the Victorious progress of their Majesties forces, under the command of Gen. Ginckle, this Summer in Ireland. London. 1691.
- P. 80, l. 14.—The governour. Colonel Ulick Burke, who was killed at Aughrim. The London Gazette, 2671, contains a minute account of the surrender of Ballimore.
- P. 81, l. 31.—They joined in a remonstrance. An anecdote related by Story goes further than remonstrating. He says, that while Tyrconnell was with the army near Athlone, "One Lieutenant-Colonel Connell came to my lord's tent, and hid him begone from the camp, else he would cut his tent cords. My Lord Tyrconnell, knowing that he durst not be so impudent without a considerable faction to support him, went next morning early towards Limerick."
 - P. 84, l. 15 .- To force a passage over the Lycus (Shannon). "The

river, for the first time in the memory of man, was found fordable a little below the bridge; two Danish soldiers, who for some crime had been sentenced to be shot, on promise of pardon, tried the pass and returned safe. It was then given out and believed by both armies that the siege was to be raised; and when the Irish saw the English in motion, they lay in perfect security, and the French camp, a mile beyond, was equally still. St. Ruth and his officers had been gambling and dancing all night in a house, the unroofed walls of which are still standing, some distance from the town; they had retired to rest as happily secure as if they had been in Paris. On a sudden, at morning's dawn, and with no other music than the tolling of St. Mary's bell, sixty chosen men in armour, led by Captain Sandys, plunged into the stream below the bridge, twenty abreast, and in a very few minutes the opposite bank was gained—the bridge possessed-and with cool and steady bravery they set about reconstructing the gallery whereby their comrades could follow them The Irish were taken by surprise."-" The first express which reached St. Ruth, that the British were passing the river, found him dressing for a shooting excursion. He gave the messenger a deaf ear, and when urged by some one present to take instant measures, he replied that he would give a thousand louis to hear that the English durst attempt to pass. 'Spare your money, and mind your business,' was the gruff retort of Sarsfield, 'for I know that no enterprise is too difficult for British courage to attempt." -A Tour in Connaught, by the Rev. Cæsar Otway. 1839.

The effect produced upon the Irish by this exploit is thus described in a curious hudibrastic poem, entitled "Hesperi-neso-graphia:"

"When 't was to men of credit known
He first of all ran from Athlone;
For when he heard the roaring cannon,
Saw men, like otters, cross the Shannon,
His winged heels ne'er stopt until
He hid himself in Aughrim's mill."

P. 86, l. 8 .- The person meant by an old oracle. A prophecy was

generally current in Ireland that an O'Donnell, with a red mark, should free his country from the dominion of England; hence his soubriquet of Baldearg—"Ball, a stain, spot or speck, either natural or artificial," and "Dearg, crimson." See O'Brien's Irish Dictionary.

P. 86, l. 16.—Gordones (Lord Athenry). See subsequent note on p. 90.

- l. 28. Manapolis. Carrick-on-Shannon.

P. 87, l. 7.—His Secretary. Quere, Patrick Tyrrell, titular Bishop of Clogher?

— l. 28.—Represented that the army of Ororis (Baron Ginkell) was more numerous. This certainly was not the case, although there can be no doubt that part of the Irish force was scarcely disciplined and badly armed. "The line of battle," says Story, "will direct you how many regiments we had in the fight, and, considering all circumstances, they could not make up seventeen thousand horse and foot. The Irish were nigh twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse and dragoons, as appears from the most rational accounts that can be gathered from the number of their regiments and the confession of their own officers."

P. 89, l. 8. The Cyprian (Irish) army. In "An exact Journal of the victorious progress of their Majesties Forces, under the command of Gen. Ginckle." (London, 1691), the number of the Irish army is more than doubled, "being no less than 20,000 foot and 8,000 horse and dragoons." Story's statement, before given, only reduces the number of horse and dragoons three thousand.

P. 90, l. 9.—No quarter given but to a very few. The slaughter at Aughrim was terrific. "Of the enemy 5,000, or if you will believe Major-General Dorington, who was one of the prisoners, 8,000 were slain."—An exact Journal, &c.

"We killed," says Story, "seven thousand of the Irish upon the

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spot, as was generally believed; and there could not be many fewer, for, looking amongst the dead three days after, when all our own and some of theirs were buried, I reckoned in some small inclosures 150, in others 120, &c. lying most of them by the ditches where they were shot; and the rest, from the top of the hill where their camp had been, looked like a great flock of sheep scattered up and down the country for almost four miles round."

P. 90, l. 16.—Fortunatus, grandchild of Totilas. Quere, Brigadier Henry O'Neal, grandson of Sir Phelim O'Neal?

—— l. 20.—Gordonos (Lord Athenry?) Colonel Gordon O'Neal, who was, says Story, "found stript amongst the dead, next day, and made a prisoner."

P. 92, l. 8.—By the treachery of an officer. "On Sunday, in the evening, not many hours after we appeared before the town, one Captain Bourk deserted from the enemy, and gave the general an account that the fort the Irish were making towards the south-east was almost finished, and therefore the sooner it was attacked it would be the easier gained, and that it was as necessary for us to take as them to keep it, because it commanded a great part of the wall on that side of the town. Next morning early Count Nassau, with a party of grenadeers and two regiments of foot, was conducted by Captain Bourk the safest way to attack this fort."—Story.

P. 93, l. 11.—One of the civil officers. This appears to have been Judge Daly. Story, under date July, 1691, says, "Nigh the same time, Judge Dally, who lived in that part of the country,* had sent to the General (Ginckell), desiring that a party might be sent for him, who should seemingly force him from his habitation; this gentleman and some others of the Irish had kept a correspondence with our Government for several months past, and had proposed the surrendering of Galloway and some other things, which was the

^{*} At Carrownekelly, in the county of Galway.

occasion of a part of our armies marching to the Shannon the winter before."

- P. 93, l. 14.—The first civil magistrate. Arthur French, Esq. succeeded Colonel Alexander McDonnell as mayor on the 9th December, 1690.
- l. 29.—And the governour was his (Tyrconnell's) nephew. Henry eighth Viscount Dillon, the governor, was also Tyrconnell's step-son. (See p. 122.) According to Lodge (iv. 194), his mother (who was killed by the second bomb thrown into Limerick by Ginckell's army) was the daughter of Sir Henry Talbot, of Temple Oge, in the county of Dublin, and of Mount Talbot, in the county of Roscommon, Kt.
- P. 94, l. 12.—The treaty held for six days. It is dated the 21st July, 1691, and by the first article "Sunday morning next (the 26th), by six of the o'clock," is fixed for the time of the surrender of "the town and fort of Galloway."
- —— l. 17.—The governour's brother-in-law. Quere, Sir John Bourke, Bart. of Mitford? to whom Lord Dillon's sister Jane was married.
- P. 95, l. 11.—A friend in the Cilician (English) camp. According to Story the first overture was made by O'Donnell, who required that his men should be "admitted into pay in order to serve his Majesty in Flanders or elsewhere, himself made Earl of Tyrconnell, to which he pretended a title from his ancestors, and have two thousand pounds given him for his expenses."
- —— l. 24.—A Cilician (an English) gentleman in his service. In a fragment of a contemporary MS. Journal, in the editor's possession, the following entry occurs:—"Mr. Richards, Secretary and Adjutant-General to Baldarick O'Donnel, who had been with the general in the camp four or five days, went hence this day for Dublin to confer with the lords justices." A passage precisely similar, dated 9th August, may be found in "A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of

Lymerick, with the Articles at large, both Civil and Military. Published by Authority. Dublin, printed by Robert Thornton, and are to be sold by the Booksellers, 1692."

- P. 96, l. 13.—His trimming behaviour. Dublin, 9th August, 1691. "We hear that Baldarick O'Donnell, whose name has been made great use of among those of the Irish who build much upon prophecies, has sent to the general a proposal of some conditions he desires may be granted to him and his followers upon laying down their arms, and that at present an article of cessation might be allowed him for continuing unmolested with his men in some place to be assigned him, till his Majesty's pleasure can be known concerning his demands."—London Gazette, No. 2688.
- l. 20.—He hastily concluded the treaty that very day. "Balderock," says Story, "complained heavily that the thing should be made publick, to the great hinderance of the numbers of men he designed to bring off, and almost to the hazard of his own life, for this treaty was first in the Dublin Intelligence, and then in the London Gazette, dated August the 13th, which was before the thing was really compleated, but those that have seen Balderock will believe that it was partly his own fault."
- P. 97, l. 27.—A private gentleman who made his fortune by practising the law. Sir William Talbot, according to a doubtful pedigree in the editor's possession. Sir Henry Talbot, if the MS. (p. 93) and the note thereon at p. 136 are correct.
- P. 98, l. 2.—His brother, a religious man. The notorious Peter Talbot, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.
- ____ l. 31.—Bold and resolute. Clarendon informs us that Tyrconnell was the person selected to assassinate Cromwell, and that he willingly undertook to execute the deed.
 - ___ l. 32.—Naturally proud and passionate. In "The Secret CAMP. Soc. 19.

Intriegues of the Romish Party in Ireland" (London 1690), Tyrconnell is said to be "a great Furioso, and can prescribe no limits to his passion."

P. 99, l. 8.—Succeeding in the government by a particular commission. Story says, "that Francis Plowden, Esq. (one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in the late King's time) had brought over a commission from the late King out of France, appointing Sir Alexander Fitton, Sir Richard Neagle, and the said Francis Plowden, Esq. to be Lords Justices of Ireland; which commission lay dormant till my Lord Tyrconnel's death, by which it appeared that his adversaries were like to prove too many for him if he had lived; and that, tho' he had promoted the late King's desires (tho' not his real interest) to the utmost, and was of the same religion too with himself, yet he was in a fair way of being served as others had been before him."

P. 100, l. 20.—Pitching his camp on the same ground where Theodore (King William) pitched his the year before. At Carriganliss, to which post Ginckell's army marched on the 14th August, 1691. William had occupied the same ground on the 7th of August in the preceding year. It is about six miles south-east of Limerick, and is now called Cahirconlish.

—— l. 31.—He immediately retired to a mountain a good distance from Paphos (Limerick). The Earl of Westmeath, in a letter addressed to Mr. Harris and published in the Appendix to his Life of King William III. admits this precipitate retreat. His Lordship says—" Brigadier Clifford commanded where this bridge was laid over, and by a very great neglect he made no opposition to it. He was for that neglect confined in the castle, and I believe, if the capitulation had not been made, he must, of course, be condemned by a court martial. I had a regiment of horse, and we were encamped on a mountain within three miles of the bridge, and the body consisted of about 3,000 men, commanded by General Sheldon. On his having

intelligence that Ginkle had laid a bridge over the Shannon, and that a great number of horse and foot had passed it, he marched with the horse to Six-Mile Bridge, which we passed, and went the next day to Clare, where we remained till we made articles."

- P. 102, l. 11.—Clytus (Colonel Robert Clifford) who commanded at the pass. Story says that, upon the alarm being given, Brigadier Clifford "seemed not very forward in the matter, tho' his dragoons came down on foot and pretended to make some opposition."
- P. 104, l. 5.—The deputies. "25th September, 1691. This day the Earl of Westmeath, Colonel Sheldon, the Lord Galmoy, Lord Dillon, Nicholas Purcell, Esq. commonly called Baron of Loughmoe, the titular Primate, the titular Archbishop of Cashel, Sir Theobald Butler, Major Condon, and some others, came to our camp from the enemies' horse camp, dined with the general, and, after a large conference, went hence into the town."—Diary of the Siege of Limerick.
- —— l. 7.—And continued till the 3rd of the 8th month (October O. S.) "3rd October, 1691. This evening the articles were signed and exchanged; but it being late we only took possession of the enemies' outworks, their stone fort, and St. John's Gate, on the Irish town side."—Diary of the Siege of Limerick.
- P. 105, l. 5—The first Flamin (Bishop) of Paphia (Connaught). The titular Archbishop of Tuam.
- ____ l. 8.— The chief Flamin (Bishop). The titular Archbishop of Armagh.
- P. 106, l. 4.—But nothing was more dismal than the sad separation of man and wife. "Barbarous and inhuman hath been Wahop's usage to the poor Irish which lately were shipped from Kerry. He, finding while they lay encamped (waiting for transport ships) that they began to desert him upon account of the ill condition of their wives and families in this kingdom, promised to take them also with him;

and a declaration to that effect having been issued by Sarsfield and Wahop, they accordingly were brought to the water side, when Wahop, pretending to ship the soldiers in order, according to his lists of them, first carried the men on board; many of the women, on the second return of the boats for the officers, catching hold to be carried on board, were dragged off with the boats, and through fearfulness loosing their hold were drowned; others who held faster had their fingers cut off, and came to the same miserable end, in sight of their husbands and relations."—The Dublin Intelligence, 1691.

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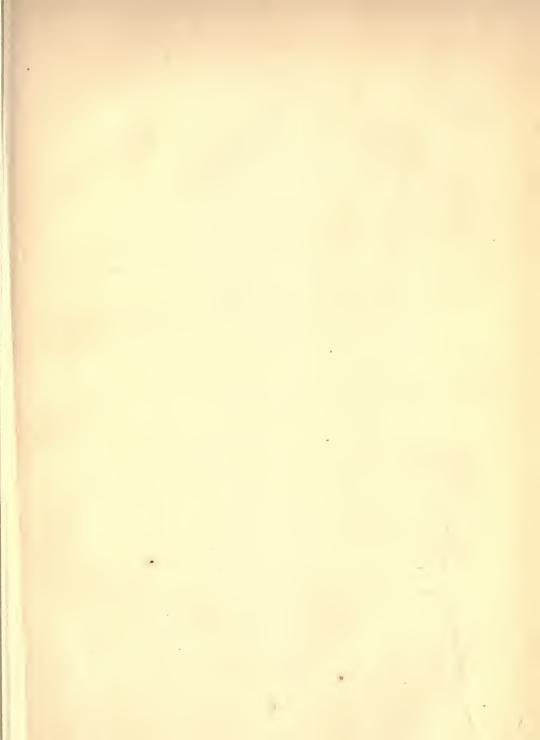
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CAMDEN



SOCIETY.

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS.

AT a General Meeting of the Camden Society held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday the 3rd May, 1841,

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., TREAS. S.A., DIRECTOR, IN THE CHAIR.

THE Director having opened the business of the Meeting by expressing his regret at the absence of the President,

The Secretary read the Report of the Council agreed upon at their meeting of the 22nd April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and printed, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services.

The Thanks of the Society were also voted to the President, and to the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, for their assistance towards attaining the objects of the Society, mentioned in the Report to have been given by them; and also to the Editors of the Society's publications; to the Local Secretaries; and to Messrs. Nichols.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Auditors, agreed upon at their meeting of the 29th of April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and printed for the use of the Members, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their trouble. The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers, when The Right Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P. was elected President, and

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S. Treas. S.A.

JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.

JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. F.S.A.

CHARLES PURTON COOPER, Esq. Q.C. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A.

The Right Hon. THOMAS PEREGRINE COURTENAY.

T. CROFTON CROKER, Esq. F.S.A. M.R.I.A.

Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S. Sec. S.A.

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

The Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. F.R.S., Dir. S.A.

THOMAS STAPLETON, Esq. F.S.A.

WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, Esq. F.S.A.

ALBERT WAY, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. and

THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

were elected as the Council, and

JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, Esq. BOLTON CORNEY, Esq. and The Rev. LANCELOT SHARPE, M.A., F.S.A.

were elected Auditors of the Society for the ensuing year.

Thanks were then voted to the Director, Treasurer, and Secretary, for their services during the past year; and to the Director, for his able conduct in the Chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1841.

AT a Meeting of the Council of the Camden Society held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Thursday the 6th May, 1841,

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. in the Chair;

The Council having proceeded to the Election of Officers,-

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. was elected Director; John Bruce, Esq. Treasurer; and William J. Thoms, Esq. Secretary, for the Year next ensuing.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

DATED 1st MAY, 1841.

THE COUNCIL, elected on the 2nd of May, 1840, feel great satisfaction in being able to report that the affairs of the Society continue in a very prosperous condition. The full number of 1200 Members has been maintained, and there is a sufficient number of Candidates for admission to supply all the vacancies which are likely to occur during the ensuing year.

During the present year an addition of £193 10s. 10d. has been made to the Investment standing in the names of the Trustees for the Society, increasing its amount from £214 9s. 6d. to £408 0s. 4d. There is now in hand a further sum of £120 received for Compositions, which the Council recommend should be added to the Investment as soon as may be convenient.

The Council have been enabled to add the following gentlemen to the number of the Local Secretaries:—

John Kerr, Esq. for Glasgow. The Rev. Guy Bryan, M.A. F.S.A. for Maldon, Essex. Henry Jackson, Esq. for Sheffield.

The Rev. E. R. Williamson has also been appointed Local Secretary for Bedford, in the room of Dr. Witt; and Archibald Robertson, Esq. Local Secretary for Chatham, in the room of Charles Spence, Esq.

The Publications of the past year have been-

The Egerton Papers; consisting of Public and Private Documents formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, and Viscount Brackley; and now preserved among the MSS. the property of Lord Francis Egerton, President of the Camden Society. Edited by John Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A.

The Chronicle of Josceline de Brakelond, Monk of St. Edmundsbury, from A.D. 1157 to 1211. Edited by John Gage Rokewode, Esq. F.R.S., Director S.A.

The Chronicle of William of Rishanger of the Barons' Wars; and the Miracles

of Simon de Montfort. Edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A. &c.

And-

A Narrative of the Commotion in the County of Clare, and particularly of the Siege of Ballyaly Castle, in 1641-2, by Maurice Cuffe, Esq. the defender of the castle. And

"Macariæ Excidium, or the Destruction of Cyprus;" a narrative, written in 1692, of the struggle between James II. and William III. in Ireland, by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited by T. CROFTON CROKER, Esq. F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

is nearly completed at the press, and will be ready for delivery to the Members by the end of the present month. The Council have directed that a list of the Members for the past year, with the Report of the Auditors, shall be appended to the last-mentioned work; and, if the General Meeting think proper, this Report may also be added to it after the manner of the two former years. The Council also recommend that Mr. Croker's book should be considered a publication of the third year of the Society.

The following works are now passing through the press,-

An Apology for the Lollards: a MS. attributed to Wickliffe. Edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., F.T.C.D.

The Second Book of the Travels of Nicander Nucius, a Corcyræan Gentleman who came to England in the suite of an Ambassador from the Netherlands, sent by the Emperor Charles V. to the Court of Henry VIII.; translated from the Original Greek MS. formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. Edited by the Rev. John Anthony Cramer, D.D. Principal of New Inn Hall, and Public Orator, Oxford.

The Latin Poetry of Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

PROMPTORIUM: An English and Latin Dictionary of Words in use during the 15th Century, compiled chiefly from the Promptorium Parvulorum, with illustrations from other contemporary authorities. By Albert Way, Esq. F.S.A.

The Council have also ordered the following works to be put to press at the convenience of their Editors and the Society:—

Latin Romance Narratives and Legends of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, relating to King Arthur and other Heroes of the Welsh and Breton cycle of Fiction. To be edited by Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Letters and State Papers relating to the Proceedings of the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586, derived from a MS. placed at the disposal of the Society by Frederick Ouvry, Esq. and other sources. To be edited by John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.

A Collection of Anglo-Saxon and Old English Monuments, principally intended to illustrate the dialects of the languages. To be edited by John M. Kemble, Esq.

The Anturs of Arther at the Tarnewathelan. Sir Amadace. The Avowynge of King Arther, Sir Gawan, Sir Kaye, and Sir Bawdewyn of Bretan. Three Early English Metrical Romances. To be edited, from a MS. in the possession of J. I. Blackburn, Esq. M.P. by John Robson, Esq.

The Council have added the following works to the list of suggested publications—

Anecdota Anglica Historica. A Collection of hitherto inedited Letters and Documents relating to the History of England, from the Reign of William the Conqueror to that of Edward IV. To be edited by J. O. HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.

A Collection of Inedited Papers relating to Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, and other Members of the Wyatt Family. To be edited by the Rev. Guy Bryan, M.A. F.S.A.

A Chronicle of English Affairs from the Conquest to the reign of Henry VI. from a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge. To be edited by the Rev. Henry Calthrop, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi Coll., and Archdeacon of Rochester.

Inventory of the Wardrobe of the Queen of James I. from MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge. To be edited by J. O. HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

A Collection of Original Letters and Papers of Literary Men of England, including some unpublished Papers of Camden. To be edited by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Voyage d'Oultre Mer de M. le Seigneur de Caumont, 1418. From a MS. formerly in the Lamoignon Collection.

The Romance of Jean and Blonde of Oxford, by Philippe de Reims, an Anglo-Norman Poet of the latter end of the twelfth Century. To be edited from a unique MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, by M. LE ROUX DE LINCY, editor of the Roman de Brut, &c.

The Council beg to direct the attention of the Members to the obligations conferred upon the Society by the President, in not only placing at the disposal of Mr. Collier the MSS. from which the Volume of Egerton Papers was selected, but also in himself defraying the expence of the transcripts for the work, and of the engraved fac-similes it contains.

The same ready assistance towards attaining the objects of the Society which former Councils have received from the Editors, the Local Secretaries, and all other persons whether Members of the Society or not, to whom it has been necessary to apply, has been continued towards the present Council, and in that respect their thanks, and those of the Society are especially due to the Right Honourable The Earl of Clarendon. Sir Henry Ellis having proposed the publication of a collection of original letters of literary men of England, including some unpublished papers of Camden, it was thought advisable by the Council to consider the propriety of prefixing to the volume an engraved portrait of Camden. The Earl of Clarendon having in his possession an unpublished portrait of our patron, once in the possession of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Council applied to his Lordship for permission to inspect, and if it were thought advisable to engrave that picture. The application was instantly and most kindly acceded to; his Lordship permitted the portrait to be removed to London from his seat in Hertfordshire, and gave full permission that it may be engraved if the Society shall think fit.

The Council have also to reiterate the acknowledgments which former Councils have made of their obligations to Messrs. Nichols. During the past year those gentlemen have continued to the Society the free use of their house as an office for the transaction of business, and a place of meeting for the Council; they have also aided, as before, in the receipt of subscriptions, and during the absence from town of the editor of one of the recent publications of the Society, Mr. John Gough Nichols bestowed upon the work an editorial attention for which he is entitled to the thanks of the Society.

The Council have to regret that the Society has lost the following Members by death:

HENRY BRANDRETH, jun. Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

The Very Rev. HENRY RICHARD DAWSON, M.A. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

RICHARD WAITE Cox, Esq. M.R.A.S.

The Rev. HENRY DRURY, M.A. F.R.S. Harrow.

AMBROSE GLOVER, Esq. F.S.A.

RICHARD HEALD, Esq. M.D. Spalding.

THOMAS HILL, Esq.

The Right Hon. Lord HOLLAND, F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOHN MILLER, Esq. M.D. Edinburgh.

S. PRICE, Esq. Bristol.

The Rev. THOMAS RACKETT, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOHN SIMPSON, LL.D. Worcester.

The Council have great satisfaction in being able to direct the attention of the Members to the publications of the present year and the works which are in progress, with a conviction that they are highly creditable to the Society. Without venturing to express any opinion upon the comparative merits of the several works published by the Society, the Council feel assured that the three works already issued, and the one proposed to be included in the publications of the present year, at the same time that they will comprise a larger quantity of letterpress than has been published by the Society in any preceding year, will be allowed to equal the publications of any year in historical value. There is one of them which the Society may well be gratified at having been the means of adding to the materials for the History of England, the Chronicle of Josceline de Brakelond, a work edited with singular care and judgment, and unique in its character, as affording an illustration of monastic life more vivid and complete than can be found in any work with which the Council are acquainted.

Amongst the works immediately forthcoming, the Council look forward with great expectation to the four works now in the press: the Travels of Nicander Nucius, the Apology for the Lollards, the Poems of Walter Mapes, and the Promptorium. The Nicander Nucius has been

delayed in consequence of the incompleteness of the MS. in the Bodleian, and the desire of Dr. Cramer, the Editor, to supply the deficiency from the only other Copy known to be in existence, which is in a Library in Italy. The Apology for the Lollards has also been delayed by the illness of the Editor; but the Council hope that all the four works they have enumerated will be completed during the next year.

The number of Societies based upon the principles of the Camden Society which have been established during the past year, is a circumstance of which the Members of this Society may well feel proud. The adoption by every one of those Societies of a mode of Government more or less resembling that of the Camden Society, furnishes a strong argument in favour of our plan and scheme of management; and their existence is highly gratifying, as tending to extend the advantages which were contemplated from the establishment of the Camden Society.

By order of the Council,

THOMAS AMYOT, Director.
WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

DATED 29TH APRIL, 1841.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us his accounts, from the 27th day of April, 1840, to the 27th day of April, 1841, and that we have examined the same, together with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is a correct Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period to which we have referred.

An ABSTRACT of the RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE of THE CAMDEN SOCIETY, from the 27th April, 1840, to the 27th April, 1841.

		£.	3.	(
Balance of 1	ast year's			
account		380	3	
1840,				
April 27th, Received on	account of			
to IoII, ambanintia	nsofmem-			
April 27th.) bers, in arr		127	14	1
The like on a	count of	121	14	1
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Two half-year	ore divi	991	U	
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names of t	he True			
tees for the	a Society	12	4	,
Interest receiv	red upon a	12	*	
deposit in	vestment			
with the	Metrono			
litan Banl	k .	5	9	
Compositions	received		J	
from fourt				
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Total receipts for the year £1,656 11 10

	P	S	,
Paidfor the purchase of £193.10s.10d.		8.	α .
3 per cent. consols, invested for			
the benefit of the Society	100		0
Paid for printing and pages of 1 050	180	U	0
Paid for printing and paper of 1,250	F (2)		
copies of "Norden's Essex"	52	15	0
The like of 1,250 copies of "The		_ !	
Egerton Papers'	301	14	0
The like of 1,250 copies of "The Chronicle of Josceline de Brake-			
Chronicle of Josceline de Brake-			
_ lond''	136	4	6
The like of 1,250 copies of "Ris-			
hanger's Chronicle ''	146	16	3
Paid for binding extra copies of the			
books of past years	0	11	8
The like for binding 1.250 copies of			
"Norden's Essex"	47	10	0
The like for binding 1,200 copies of			
each of the three books published			
by the Society for this year	158	8	0
by the Society for this year Paid for the delivery and transmis-	100	0	0
sion of 1,200 copies of "Norden's			
Essex," and of each of the three			
works for the present year—at 2d.			
works for the present year—at 2a.			
per book, with paper for wrappers,	**		
expense of parcels, &c.	49	3	4
Paid for engravings and lithographic			
fac-similes, for various works pub-			
lished by the Society, with paper			
for the same and printing	29	10	0
Paid for transcripts and other simi-			
lar expenses connected with works			
published or in progress	92	5	1
Paid for printing Letters, Reports,			
Laws, Lists of Members, Prospec-			
tuses, and other miscellaneous			
printing	40	18	0 -
Paid for account books for the So-			
ciety	2	18	0
Paid for expenses of the last general			
meeting	2	0	0
Paid for stationery, postage, and	- ~	•	~
various petty cash expenses	22	5	10
Cash balance, viz. Sums	~~	J	10
remaining in hand for			
compositions£120 0 0			
Balance of subscriptions			
and other receipts 273 12 2			
*			
	393	12	2
			_
£ 1	656	11	10
21	000	11	10

And we, the Auditors, further state that the Treasurer has reported to us that, over and above the present balance of £393. 12s. 2d. there are outstanding various Subscriptions of Foreign Members, of Members resident in places distant from London, and of Members recently elected, which, on the 27th day of April, 1841, amounted in the whole to the sum of £205. 0s. 0d.; which sum the Treasurer hopes will be shortly received.

Witness our hands this 29th day of April, 1841.

J. O. HALLIWELL.
J. M. KEMBLE.
WM. TOOKE.

LAWS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

ADOPTED AT THE GENERAL MEETING, MAY 2, 1839.

- I. That the Society shall be entitled "The Campen Society, for the Publication of Early Historical and Literary Remains."
- II. That the objects of the Society shall be, First, the publication of inedited Manuscripts; Second, the reprinting of Works of sufficient rarity and importance to make Reprints desirable; and Third, the publication of Translations of Historical Works not previously rendered into English.
- III. That the Society shall consist of One Thousand Two Hundred Members, being Subscribers of One Pound annually; such Subscription to be paid in advance, on or before the first day of May in every year.
- IV. That the management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a President and a Council consisting of fifteen Members, which President and Council shall be elected annually by the Society at large, at a General Meeting to be held on the 2nd day of May, being the Anniversary of Camden's birth; or on the Monday following, when the 2nd of May shall happen to fall upon a Sunday.

- V. That the President and Council shall, from amongst their own body, elect a Director, who shall act as Chairman of the Council, in the absence of the President, and also a Treasurer, and a Secretáry.
- VI. That the Accompts of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by three Auditors, to be elected at the General Meetings, and that the Report of the Auditors, with an Abstract of the Accompts, shall be published.
- VII. That the names of Members proposed to be elected as President, Council, and Auditors, shall be transmitted by the proposers to the Secretary, one fortnight before the General Meeting, and that notice of the persons so proposed shall be forwarded by the Secretary one week before the General Meeting, to all the Members residing within the limits of the Twopenny Post, and to all other Members who shall, in writing, request to receive the same.
- VIII. That no Member shall be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose Subscription is in arrear.
- IX. That in every year one-fifth in number of the Council of the year preceding shall be ineligible for re-election; and that in case any Member of the Council shall not attend more than one-third of the number of Meetings of the Council, such Member shall be considered to be one of the retiring Members.
- X. That in the absence of the President and Director, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, who shall have a casting vote in case of equality of numbers, and shall also retain his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.
- XI. That the Funds of the Society shall be disbursed in payment of necessary expenses incident to the production of the Works of the Society, and that all other expenses shall be avoided as much as possible.
- XII. That, after the Members of the Society shall have reached One Thousand Two Hundred, vacancies in that number shall be filled up by the Council, from time to time as they occur.

- XIII. That every Member not in arrear of his Annual Subscription, shall be entitled to One Copy of every Work published by the Society during that year.
- XIV. That the Members shall be invited to contribute or recommend Works for publication.
- XV. That Editors of Works printed by the Society shall be entitled to Twenty Copies of the Works they edit.
- XVI. That the Council shall determine what number of copies of each Work shall be printed, and that the copies over and above those required by the Members shall be sold in such manner, and at such prices, as shall be fixed by the Council, the proceeds being carried to the account of the Society.
- XVII. That the Publications of the Society shall all form separate and distinct Works, without any other connexion than that which must necessarily exist between the volumes of such Works as consist of several Volumes.
- XVIII. That any Member of the Society may at any time compound for his future Annual Subscriptions, by payment of £10 over and above his Subscription for the current year.
- XIX. That every Member of the Society who shall intimate to the Council his desire to withdraw from the same, or who shall not pay his Subscription for the current year within three Months after his Election, or after such Subscription shall have become due, shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.
- XX. That the Council may appoint Local Secretaries in such places, and with such authorities as to them shall seem expedient; every Local Secretary being a Member of the Society.
- XXI. That no alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at a General Meeting, nor then, unless One Month's notice of any alteration intended to be proposed at such Meeting shall have been given in writing to the Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

FOR THE

THIRD YEAR, ENDING 2ND MAY, 1841.

Those Members to whose names (c.) is prefixed have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.

The Members whose names are printed in Capitals were on the Council of the year.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD FRANCIS EGERTON, M.P. President. H. R. H. THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, K.G., F.R.S. F.S.A.

THE MOST REV. AND RIGHT HON. THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD COTTENHAM, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, D.C.L., PRES.R.S., F.S.A.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, PRES.S.A., F.R.S.

Abraham Abell, Esq. Cork.

Joseph Ablett, Esq. Llanbedr Hall, Ruthen.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Acheson, M.P.

Edward Acton, Esq. Grundisburgh, Suffolk.

(c.) Sir Robert Shafto Adair.

John Adams, jun. Esq. M. A. Christ Church, Oxford.

John Adamson, Esq. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. Local Secretary at Newcastle.

Rev. James Adcock, M.A. Lincoln. William Fountaine Addison, Esq. Wadham College, Oxford.

John Adolphus, Esq. F.S.A.

Professor Dr. Adrian, Librarian of the University of Giessen (Hesse Darmstadt).

John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. Sec. Num. Soc.

(c.) Edward Nelson Alexander, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary at Halifax.

Robert Alexander, Esq. Q.C., F.R.S. F.S.A.

Robert Henry Allan, Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer of the Surtees Society. Local Secretary at Durham.

George Edward Allen, Esq. Bath.

Rev. Isaac Nicholson Allen, M.A. Bromley by Bow, Middlesex.

John Allen, Esq.

Mr. William Allen.

Richard Almack, Esq. F.S.A. Long Melford, Suffolk.

The Vicomte Louis d'Armaille, Paris.

Thomas Frederick Hill Alms, Esq.

George Henry Ames, Esq. Cote House, near Bristol.

Samuel Amory, Esq.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S. Treas. S.A. Director.

Alexander Annand, Esq. F.S.A. Sutton, Surrey.

Thomas Chisholme Anstey, Esq. Samuel Appleby, Esq. Gray's Inn. George Appleyard, Esq.

Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D. Head Master of Rugby School.

M. le Chevalier Artaud, Membre de l'Institut de France.

Robert John Ashton, Esq. F.L.S.

The Athenæum Club.

George James Aungier, Esq.

Benjamin Austen, Esq.

William Ayrton, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

W. Scrope Ayrton, Esq. F.S.A. Barrister-at-Law.

James Bacon, Esq. Barrister-at-Law. Thomas Bacon, Esq. Redlands, Reading.

Edward Badeley, Esq. F.S.A. Temple.

The Right Hon. Lord Bagot, LL.D., F.S.A.

Thomas John Bailey, Esq. Egham House, Surrey.

James Evan Baillie, Esq.

George Baker, Esq. Local Secretary at Northampton.

Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, D.D. Bodleian Librarian, Oxford.

George Banks, Esq. St. Catharine's, near Doncaster.

Rev. Richard H. Barham, B.A.

Benjamin Barnard, Esq.

John Barnard, Esq.

Alfred Brooke Barnes, Esq.

Keith Barnes, Esq.

Ralph Barnes, Esq. Exeter.

Thomas Barnes, Esq.

CHARLES FREDERICK BARNWELL, Esq. M.A. F.R.S., F.S.A.

Rev. John Bartholomew, Morchant. John Baron, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.

Mr. J. Bartlett, Blandford.

Samuel Joseph Bayfield, Esq. F.S.A. Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, F.R.S. and F.S.A.

R. R. Bayley, Esq.

Thomas Baylis, Esq, F.S.A. Prior's Bank, Fulham.

Rev. Thomas Vere Bayne, B.C.L. Warrington.

Edward Blake Beal, Esq.

Henry Ridley Beal, Esq.

Mr. Henry Mitchison Bealby.

John Beardmore, Esq.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Rev. Henry Bedford, Dunton Bassett.

Alfred Beesley, Esq. Banbury.

James Bell, Esq.

Robert Bell, Esq. Advocate, Procurator for the Church of Scotland.

Thomas Bell, Esq. F.R.S. Professor of Zoology, King's College, Lond.

Charles Bellamy, Esq. D.C.L. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

George Frederick Beltz, Esq. K.H. F.S.A. Lancaster Herald.

Mr. James Bennett, Tewkesbury.

Henry Bentley, Esq.

John Bentley, Esq. Birch House, near Bolton, Lancashire.

Michael Bentley, Esq.

Richard Bentley, Esq.

P. S. Benwell, Esq. Henley.

J. B. Bergne, Esq.

Samuel Berridge, Esq. Leicester.

(c.) The Rev. John Besly, D.C.L. Vicar of Benton, Northumberland.

J. Richard Best, Esq. Botley Grange, Southampton.

Sir William Betham, Ulster King at Arms, For. Sec. R. I. A., F.S.A. Local Secretary at Dublin.

Richard Bethell, Esq. M.P. Rise, near Beverley.

M. le Comte Arthur Beugnot, Membre de l'Institut de France.

John Bevan, Esq. Cowbridge.

La Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

Robert Bickersteth, Esq. Liverpool. John Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A.

I consul Shelford B

Leonard Shelford Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A. Thetford.

Rev. George Augustus Biedermann, Rector of Dauntsey, Wilts.

Rev. Edward T. Bigge, M.A. Fellow of Merton Coll. Oxford.

Arthur Biggs, Esq. Bristol.

Rev. Charles Birch, M.A.

Edw. Charles Bird, Esq. Southwold.

Thomas Birkbeck, Esq.

The Birmingham Public Library.

John Black, Esq.

William Black, Esq. Guilford-street. Alexander Blair, Esq. LL.D. Bristol.

Rev. W. Blakesley, M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

Michael Bland, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

Rev. George Bland, M.A.

Francis Lawrence Bland, Esq.

Charles Blandy, Esq. Reading.

(c.) John Jackson Blandy, Esq. Reading.

William Blandy, Esq. Reading.

Octavian Blewitt, Esq. Secretary to the Literary Fund Society.

(c.) Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A. Registrar of the Univ. of Oxford. Local Secretary at Oxford.

Bindon Blood, Esq. F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot., M.R.I.A. Edinburgh.

Edward Blore, Esq. D.C.L., F.S.A. B. Blundell, Esq. Temple.

Rev. Wm. Blunt, B.A. Under Master of Merchant-Taylors' School.

Rev. Alfred Turner Blythe, Bristol.

Miss Bockett, Southcote Lodge,
Berks.

Rev. J. A. Bolster, M.A., M.R.I.A. Local Secretary at Cork.

Edward A. Bond, Esq. British Mus. Mr. William Boone, New Bond-st.

Mr. Lionel Booth, Duke-street.

Rt. Hon. Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, M.A.

Rev. Joseph Bosworth, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. Vicar of Waith, Lincolnshire.

William Fuller Boteler, Esq. M.A., Q.C.

(c.) Beriah Botfield, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. Norton Hall, Northamptonshire.

Alfred Francis Boucher, Esq. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Rev. Thomas Bowdler, Sydenham.

Henry Bower, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary at Doncaster.

Rev. Thomas Frere Bowerbank, M.A. Vicar of Chiswick.

Mark Boyd, Esq.

David Bradberry, Esq.

Robert Greene Bradley, Esq. Bencher of Gray's Inn.

Joseph Hoare Bradshaw, Esq.

George Weare Braikenridge, Esq. F.S.A. Brislington House, Som.

Edw. Henry Bramah, Esq. Reading.

Rev. Thomas Brancker, M.A. Fellow of Wadham Coll. Oxford.

Henry Brandreth, jun. Esq. M.A., F.S.A. [Died Dec. 17, 1840.]

Right Hon. LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A.

Edward Wedlake Brayley, Esq. F.S.A.

Henry Brice, Esq. Bristol.

Rev. Thomas Edward Bridges, D.D.
President of Corpus Christi Coll.
Oxford.

Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. Ham Green, near Bristol. John Bright, Esq. M.D.

John Ruggles Brise, Esq. Spainshall, Finchingfield, Essex.

John Britton, Esq. F.S.A.

James Broadwood, Esq.

Thomas Broadwood, Esq.

William Brockedon, Esq. F.R.S.

John Trotter Brockett, Esq. F.S.A. Newcastle.

William Bromet, M.D., F.S.A. Surgeon 1st Life Guards.

(c.) Right Hon. Lord Brooke, St. John's College, Oxford.

Francis Capper Brooke, Esq. Ufford Place, Suffolk.

Charles Bros, Esq.

The Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux, F.R.S. Pres. of Univ. College, London, and Member of the National Institute of France.

Rev. John Brown, M.A. Vice-Master of Trinity College, Camb.

Samuel Cowper Brown, Esq. F.S.A. Shillingford Cross, Devon.

W. H. Brown, Esq.

Rev. G. A. Browne, M.A. Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb.

James Lewis Knight Bruce, Esq. Q.C., F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer.

Thomas Bruce, Esq. Parham. Mr. Leonard Bruton, Bristol.

Rev. Guy Bryan, M.A., F.S.A. Rector of Woodham Walter, Essex. Local Secretary at Maldon.

Mr. John Bryant.

Rev. George Buckeridge, M.A. Fellow of Worcester Coll. Oxford.

George Buckton, Esq. Oakfield. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Bunbury, K.C.B., F.S.A.

John Burder, Esq. F.S.A.

William Burge, Esq. Q.C. M.A., D.C.L.

John William Burgon, Esq.

James Burn, Esq. W.S. Edinburgh.

Rev. Charles Parr Burney, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. Sible Hedingham, Essex.

John Burrell, Esq. Durham.

Robert Burrell, Esq. Durham.

Edmund Burrow, Esq.

Decimus Burton, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

John Hill Burton, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh.

Septimus Burton, Esq.

Rev. Thomas Byrth, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Wallasey, Cheshire.

Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

Frederick Caldwell, Esq.

Rev. Henry Calthrop, B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.

Sir John Campbell, M.P. Her Majesty's Attorney-General.

John Campbell, Esq. Bedford-place. Rt. Hon. the Earl of Camperdown. Edward Capps, Esq.

Rev. Henry Card, D.D. F.S.A. Great Malvern.

J. S. Cardale, Esq. Leicester.

(c.) The Rev. EdwardCardwell, D.D. CAMDEN'S Professor of Ancient History, Oxford.

(c.) Peter Stafford Carey, Esq. M.A. Rt. Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, F.R.S. Edward John Carlos, Esq.

A. N. Carmichael, Esq. Principal Classical Master at the Edinburgh Academy.

Rev. John Carr, M.A. Fellow of Balliol Coll. Oxford.

William Thomas Carr, Esq. John Carter, Esq. Coventry.

George Alfred Carthew, Esq. East Dereham, Norfolk.

(c.) Cornelius Cartwright, Esq. Dudley.

Rev. W. Carus, M.A. Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb.

The Rt. Hon. Earl Cawdor, F.R.S. Mr. James Chaffin, Islington.

Thomas Chapman, Esq.

William Chapman, Esq. Richmond, Surrey.

William Chappell, Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer of the Percy and the Musical Antiq. Societies.

Mr. Emerson Charnley, Newcastle. Sir William Chatterton, Bart. Auditor.

(c.) John Walbanke Childers, Esq. M.P.

Francis Cholmeley, Esq. F.S.A.

Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. F.S.A. Henry Christy, Esq.

William Church, Esq. Streatley, Reading.

Rev. Thomas Townson Churton, M.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Rev. Francis Foreman Clark, B.A. Townfield House, near Newcastle, Staffordshire.

George Thomas Clark, Esq.

William Clark, M.D. Professor of Anatomy, Cambridge.

John Clarke, Esq. Southwark.

John Clarke, jun. Esq. Peatling Hall, Leicestershire.

Thomas Clarke, Esq. Knedlington, Yorkshire.

Thomas Clarke, Esq. F.S.A.

Rev. Piers C. Claughton, M.A. Fellow of Univ. Coll. Oxford.

Rev. Benjamin Saunders Claxson, D.D. Pres. of the Lit. and Scient. Institution, Gloucester.

Rev. Patrick Clason, D.D. Edinb.

Jacob Clements, Esq.

(c.) Rev. A. B. Clough, B.D., F.S.A. Jesus Coll. Oxford.

Charles Thornton Coathupe, Esq. Wraxhall, near Bristol.

James Cobb, Esq. Yarmouth.

J. Ingram Cobbin, Esq.

Sir William S. R. Cockburn, Bart. M.A., Bath.

William Colhourne, Esq. Chippenham.

Robert Cole, Esq.

Rev. Edward Coleridge, M.A.

Francis George Coleridge, Esq. Ottery St. Mary, Devon.

Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. M.A.
The Hon. Sir John Taylor Coleridge,
one of the Judges of the Queen's

one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, M.A.

JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. F.S.A. Mr. Edwin Collings, Bath.

Edward Collins, Esq.

Thomas Combe, Esq. Oxford.

Rev. C. Comberbach, Stonor.

(c.) Rev. John Connop, M.A. Bradfield Hall, Berkshire.

Edward Conroy, Esq. M.A., M.R.I.A.

Lord Albert Conyngham, F.S.A.

Philip Davies Cooke, Esq. Owston, Yorkshire.

W. H. Cooke, Esq. Temple.

Charles Henry Cooper, Esq. Coroner for Cambridge.

CHARLES PURTON COOPER, Esq. Q.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Rev. James Cooper, M.A. St. Paul's School.

Thomas Henry Cooper, Esq.

William Durrant Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.

Rev. William John Copeland, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

James Copland, M.D., F.R.S.

The Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.

George Richard Corner, Esq. F.S.A. (c.) Bolton Corney, Esq. Greenwich.

Frederick Corrance, Esq. Loudham Hall, Suffolk.

Rev. Thomas Corser, Stand, Manchester.

Rev. G. E. Corrie, B.D. Fellow of Cath. Hall, and Norrisian Prof. of Div. in the Univ. of Cambridge.

Rev. William Charles Cotton, B.A. Student of Christ Ch. Oxford.

The Right Hon. Lord Courtenay.

The Right Hon. THOMAS P. COURTENAY.

Andrew Coventry, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh.

Richard Waite Cox, Esq. M.R.A.S. [Died April, 1841.]

George L. Craik, Esq.

Rev. John Antony Cramer, D.D. Public Orator, Oxford.

Rev. Richard Crawley, M.A. Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire.

Anthony Crofton, Esq. Barrister.

The Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S.

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER, Esq. F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

James Crofts, Esq.

James Crossley, Esq. Local Secretary at Manchester.

James Dodsley Cuff, Esq.

George Godfrey Cunningham, Esq. Glasgow.

Peter Cunningham, Esq.

Miss Richardson Currer, Eshton Hall, Yorkshire.

Henry Curwen, Esq. Workington Hall.

The Rev. Henry Curwen, Rector of Workington.

Edward Dalton, Esq. LL.D., F.S.A. Dunkirk House, near Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire.

George Daniel, Esq.

Rev. John Wareyn Darby, Framlingham.

George Webbe Dasent, Esq.

William Dauney, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh.

Rev. C. N. Davies, Norwood.

James Edward Davies, Esq.

Robert Davies, Esq.

Thomas Stephens Davies, Esq. F.R.S. L. and Ed. F.S.A. Prof. of Mathematics in Royal Military Acad. Woolwich.

David Elisha Davy, Esq. Ufford, Suffolk. *Eocal Secretary*.

Matthew Dawes, Esq. F.G.S. Bolton-le-Moors.

Very Rev. Henry Richard Dawson, M.A. Dean of St. Patrick's. [Died Oct. 24, 1840.]

Vesey Thomas Dawson, Esq.

Rev. Arthur Dayman, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

W. Head Deacon, Esq. Long Cross, near Cardiff.

Charles Deane, Esq.

Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, M.A., F.S.A.

James Dearden, Esq. Rochdale.

Norris Deck, Esq. Cambridge.

Right Hon. Earl De Grey, Pres. of R. Inst. Br. Architects, F.S.A.

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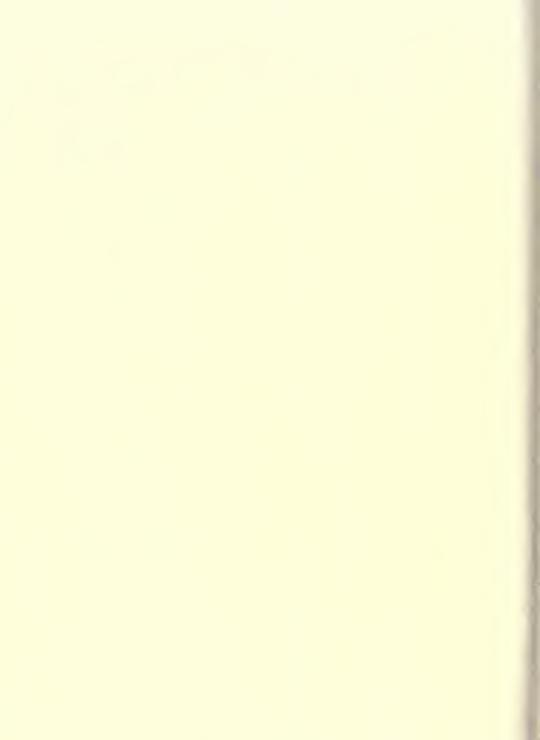
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